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# The Hispanic American Historical Review

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## ANGLO-AMERICAN FILIBUSTERS AND THE GADSDEN TREATY

Raids of bands of filibusters from the United States were a source of considerable uneasiness and bitterness to Mexico during the five years subsequent to the treaty of 1848, and they caused the federal authorities of the Washington government no little vexation. Indeed, the decade subsequent to the Mexican war may with truth be called the Golden Age of the Anglo-American Filibusters. Not only did they make incursions into Cuba, Mexico, Central America, and the Sandwich Islands, but there was talk among them and their friends of giving more than sympathy to Ireland and the oppressed peoples of Europe.<sup>1</sup>

Between 1848 and 1853, Cuba and Mexico were the main centers of attraction. With reference to a particular expedition it was often uncertain which of these was the goal, and it was sometimes asserted that the occupation of the one would serve as a base for the conquest of the other. The Mexican government and public were therefore almost as much disturbed by expeditions in reality designed for Cuba as by plans for the invasion of Mexico.

<sup>1</sup> *Democratic Review*, old series, XXXI (February and May 1852), 97-128, 401-424, XXXII (July, 1852), 4ff. Recall in this connection the visit of Kossuth, and see J.M. Callahan, *Cuba and International Relations* (Baltimore, 1889), p. 239 ff.



## FILIBUSTER MOVEMENTS IN 1848 AND 1849

Threats of invading Mexico began soon after the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed. On May 30, 1848, at twelve in the night, a party of eighteen armed Americans entered the pueblo of Nuri, in the district of Álamos, Sonora, robbed and burned the homes of the leading inhabitants, seized a number of stock, and then fled. They were pursued and forced to abandon their plunder, but as they retreated by the rancho of Tarahumares,<sup>2</sup> they carried off eleven animals, three saddles, and forty dollars in money.

This, of course, was merely a band of robbers. Before the close of the year, however, rumors of a filibustering expedition of an important nature became current. On August 30, Buchanan, then secretary of state, sent circulars to the district attorneys of St. Louis, Little Rock, Jackson (Tennessee), Natchez, Galveston, and Mobile, instructing them to guard against the apprehended attempt on the part of the citizens of the United States to invade the northern states of Mexico. This design, if it ever existed, was soon exploded, however.<sup>3</sup>

The year 1849 opened with swarms of emigrant gold-seekers passing along the southern routes to California.<sup>4</sup> On June 1, 1849, a band of forty of these fortune-hunters attacked and pillaged the undefended *mineral* of Cieneguita, maltreated its citizens, and escaped across the Gila before an organized pursuit could be made. This, too, was, perhaps, no more than a band of ruffians out for adventure, but such adventurers were later to give Mexico trouble from their new home in California.<sup>5</sup>

In the following August more formidable plans were set on foot. A certain Colonel White, who had fought in the race war of Yucatán, collected a band of some 540 men on Round Island, near New Orleans. He was said to be expecting reinforcements

<sup>2</sup> Comisión Pesquisidora de la Frontera del Noroeste (1872), *Informe*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>3</sup> Buchanan, *Works* (J. B. Moore, ed.), VIII, 192-195.

<sup>4</sup> J. W. Audubon, *Journal of Western Travels* (F. H. Hodder, ed., Cleveland, 1906); Blanch Eppard, *The Southern Emigrant Trails to California*, University of California Library, MS.

<sup>5</sup> Comisión Pesquisidora de la Frontera del Noroeste (1872), *op. cit.*, p. 8.

from New York, Boston, and Baltimore. Although the purpose of the filibusters could not be ascertained, reports indicated that they were destined either for Yucatán, for Cuba, or for the Sierra Madre states where an independent republic had recently been proclaimed.<sup>6</sup> This expedition was soon broken up, also.<sup>7</sup>

#### THE LÓPEZ EXPEDITIONS

In May, 1850, and in August, 1851, occurred the López expeditions against Cuba. The first of these went by way of Yucatán and left a portion of its forces on the Mexican island of Contoy.<sup>8</sup> The second occurred at the time the Louisiana Tehuantepec Company was threatening to invade Mexico, and this coincidence probably gave rise to the report, by the correspondent of *El Universal* at New Orleans, that 50,000 filibusters were preparing to attack Tehuantepec.<sup>9</sup> At any rate, the destiny of Mexico was conceived to be so closely linked with that of Cuba that Mexicans could not look with indifference upon Cuba's fight with the "pirates".<sup>10</sup>

#### THE MOOREHEAD EXPEDITION

Before the second expedition of López left the United States simultaneous preparations for invasions of Mexico were begun in California and Texas. The organization of the former enterprise seems to have been poorly planned. Indeed, there may have been in progress at the same time preparations for more than one raid, but the chief promoter of the schemes seems to have been Joseph C. Moorehead, Quartermaster-General of California.

<sup>6</sup> *Sen. Ex. Doc.* No. 57, 31 Cong., 1 Sess. (Ser. 561) pp. 4ff. Taylor in his proclamation was uncertain whither the expedition was bound.

<sup>7</sup> R. G. Caldwell, *The López Expeditions to Cuba, 1848-51*, (Princeton, 1915), pp. 43-56.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70ff.

<sup>9</sup> *El Universal*, 10 de agosto de 1851. For the threats of the Louisiana Tehuantepec Company, See J. F. Rippey, "Diplomacy of the United States and Mexico Regarding the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, 1848-1860", in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, VI. (May, 1920), 503.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 30 de agosto, 2 y 6 de setiembre, 1853.

In March, 1851, news came from Los Angeles to the effect that a party of men armed with rifles and six-shooters had passed through that town. They were said to be a portion of a band of three hundred who were ostensibly on a prospecting tour to the Gila, but their real purpose was to make a descent upon Sonora.<sup>11</sup> It was further rumored that, during March and April, several parties numbering from twenty-five to one hundred had departed with the avowed purpose of revolutionizing the same state.<sup>12</sup>

It is possible that these belonged to the Moorehead enterprise. On April 20, after having disposed of a considerable portion of the arms and munitions under his charge and appropriated the proceeds, Moorehead purchased the bark *Josephine* and left for Mazatlán. With him he carried only about forty-five men, but there seems to have been two other divisions connected with the undertaking, one of which was to proceed via Los Angeles, and the other by sea to La Paz.<sup>13</sup> Before the close of the month the *Josephine* landed at San Diego, where most of the adventurers forsook their bankrupt leader and set out on their return to San Francisco.<sup>14</sup> Moorehead himself, fearing arrest for misappropriation of state property, spent some time in Lower California.<sup>15</sup> At length, about May 8, he set sail for Mazatlán.<sup>16</sup> No other information regarding him has been found.

On July 2, the Prefect of Guaymas reported that American adventurers whom he supposed to be filibusters had landed at La Paz.<sup>17</sup> What steps were taken against them has not been ascertained. They may have received rough treatment, as

<sup>11</sup> *Alta California*, April 5, 1851; *Pinart Transcripts, Sonora*, IV. 312-313. MS., Bancroft Library, University of California.

<sup>12</sup> *Los Angeles Star*, May 26, 1851. Quoted in *El Universal*, 11 de julio de 1851.

<sup>13</sup> H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco 1884-1890), VI. 584.

<sup>14</sup> *Alta California*, May 17, 1851.

<sup>15</sup> On April 25, the governor had asked the legislature to make provision for Moorehead's apprehension by a suitable reward, or by sending some person with authority for his arrest, but the request was not granted. *Journals of the California Legislature*, 2nd. sess., pp. 452, 479, 496, 1716, 1717, 1720.

<sup>16</sup> *Alta California*, May 17, 1851.

<sup>17</sup> *El Universal*, 18 de julio de 1851.

Mexican soldiers and artillery had been ordered by the central government to that territory in the previous May.<sup>18</sup>

The division which went by land reached Sonora in July. On the 6th of that month, the commander of the military colony at Santa Cruz reported that he found an encampment of North Americans near San Javier. Three days later, four of the party arrived at Arispe, whither they said they had come to ask permission of the state government to work the mines.<sup>19</sup> During the same month two others of the same party came to San Ignacio to purchase tea and coffee.<sup>20</sup> Preparations for the expulsion of the filibusters proceeded slowly, however, for on August 10, the original party, now increased to sixty-seven, had been allowed to take up its quarters in a ranch house; and it was not until November that they were expelled from the state.<sup>21</sup>

#### THE RAIDS OF CARVAJAL

The disturbances in Texas were of greater magnitude, and they resulted in greater injury to Mexico. During the war of 1846-1848, the United States government promulgated a tariff law of its own and invited Anglo-American merchants to introduce their goods.<sup>22</sup> This was the signal for a considerable rush for the lower Rio Grande. When the war closed, these merchants soon found themselves involved in difficulty. Their goods were subject to vexatious delays before being permitted to proceed to the interior, or were confiscated outright,<sup>23</sup> and their chances for future profits were virtually cut off by high tariffs and prohibitions.<sup>24</sup> This was disappointing and exasper-

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 22 de mayo de 1851.

<sup>19</sup> Flores to Governor of Sonora, July 9, 1851, in *Pinart Transcripts, Sonora*, IV. 329-330.

<sup>20</sup> Prefect of San Ignacio to Governor of Sonora, August 14, 1851; *ibid.*, IV. 333.

<sup>21</sup> Prefect of Guadalupe to same, August 20, and *El Sonorense*, 7 de noviembre de 1851, *ibid.*, IV. 342.

<sup>22</sup> *Sen. Ex. Doc.* No. 80, 32 cong., 1 sess. (ser. 620), p. 57.

<sup>23</sup> *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, No. 18, 35 cong., 2 sess. (ser. 981), p. 82 ff.; *ibid.*, 44 cong., 2 sess. (ser. 1720), p. 18 ff.

<sup>24</sup> *Dublán y Lozano, Legislación Mexicana* (Mexico, 1876-1879), V. 42-44. 62-63, 545-546, VI. 42-43; *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, No. 52, 32 cong., 2 sess., (ser. 665), pp. 227-229.

ating, and they were made to feel the situation more keenly by the belief that British interests had dictated the Mexican tariff laws.<sup>25</sup> Having once got a taste of the profits of Mexican trade, they did not easily give up, however. The practice of smuggling was soon begun, and, judging from the amount that went on, the returns must have been large. Practically every Anglo-American along the line chose the pursuit of a merchant rather than that of stock-raising or agriculture, and smuggling, ceasing to be blameworthy, soon became meritorious.<sup>26</sup>

But this pursuit was by no means free from difficulty. The customs-house guards of Mexico seemed to show considerable energy. In November, 1849, they seized a contraband, and in January, February, and March, 1850, other cargoes were taken.<sup>27</sup> On July 20, the federal government made provision for a special guard for the northern frontier.<sup>28</sup> This attempt to give the revenue system rigorous enforcement made the merchants more desperate. They now began to organize bands for the recovery of cargoes seized by the Mexican officials, and their efforts sometimes met with success.<sup>29</sup> Just at this juncture, there occurred a revolution in Tamaulipas which furnished an opportunity for operations on a larger scale.<sup>30</sup>

Prominent among the insurgents was José Mariá Carvajal who had been educated in the United States and was fairly well known on both sides of the international line.<sup>31</sup> The merchants accordingly decided to support this leader, at least until they

<sup>25</sup> *Sen. Ex. Doc.* No. 80, 32 cong., 1 sess. (ser. 620), p. 4; Em. H. D. Domenech, *Missionary Adventures in Texas and Mexico* (London, 1858), p. 327.

<sup>26</sup> W. H. Emory, "Report," *Ho. Ex. Doc.* No. 135, 34 cong., 1 sess. (ser. 861) pp. 63-64.

<sup>27</sup> Mexican Border Commission of 1873, *Report*, pp. 179-180; *Sen. Ex. Doc.* No. 31, 44 cong., 2 sess., (ser. 1720), U. S. Claims No. 200 and 363.

<sup>28</sup> Dublán y Lozano, *op. cit.*, V. 729-730.

<sup>29</sup> Mexican Border Commission of 1873, *op. et loc. cit.*

<sup>30</sup> For the plan of *La Loba* under which the revolutionists were operating, see *El Siglo XIX*, 30 de setiembre de 1851. The fact that this plan provided for the reduction of the tariff, the moderation of the punishment for smuggling, and the removal of the federal troops from the state, indicates that the Anglo-American merchants may have had something to do with it.

<sup>31</sup> Domenech, *Missionary Adventures*, pp. 327-328.

could introduce large quantities of their goods virtually free of duties. Backed by their contributions, Carvajal was able by the offer of attractive pay to induce several Americans to enlist. Others were perhaps moved by the filibustering spirit of the times, while still others saw in the enterprise an opportunity to profit by the seizure of runaway slaves.<sup>32</sup>

On September 19, Carvajal at the head of one hundred Mexicans and seventy Americans attacked Camargo. Darkness came on before the battle was decided, but during the night sixty more Americans crossed over from Davis's Ranch, and on the following morning the defenders of the town were forced to capitulate.<sup>33</sup> The insurgents held Camargo until October 9, when they began to move upon Matamoras.<sup>34</sup> Meantime their forces had received a considerable number of recruits, which probably included a few deserters from the United States army, and Ávalos, the commander of the Mexican troops at Matamoras, had suffered considerable excitement. The merchants, too, had probably decided that it was not to their interest to allow the revolution to assume too great proportions, and had suggested to Ávalos a method of counteracting it.<sup>35</sup> Accordingly, the latter had, on September 30, issued a tariff of his own which removed the prohibitions and greatly reduced the duties which had been established by the Mexican government.<sup>36</sup>

On October 20, the siege of Matamoras began. A series of what might almost be termed sham battles ensued; and at length, "after eleven days of attacking, sacking, and burning, the filibusters retired demoralized and with great losses".<sup>37</sup> Carvajal took refuge in the United States where he collected the remnants of his scattered forces, and recrossed the Rio Grande only to be severely chastised after a four days' attack upon Cerralvo and

<sup>32</sup> Smith to the Adjutant-General, July 18, 1852, in *Sen. Ex. Doc.* No. 1, 32 cong., 2 sess., (ser. 659), pp. 15-20.

<sup>33</sup> Vicente Comacho to the Comandante General of the State of Nuevo León, September 24, 1851, *El Siglo XIX*, 14 de octubre de 1851.

<sup>34</sup> Ávalos to the Minister of War, October 11, 1851, *ibid.*, octubre de 1851.

<sup>35</sup> Domenech, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

<sup>36</sup> *El Siglo XIX*, 29 de octubre de 1851.

<sup>37</sup> H. E. Bolton, *Guide to . . . the principal Archives of Mexico* (Washington, 1913), p. 299.

compelled to seek refuge on the other side of the river.<sup>38</sup> On February 21, 1852, he made a third attempt near Camargo, having with him on this occasion more than four hundred Anglo-Americans, but the opposition of the authorities of the United States had precipitated and crippled his movements so that his defeat was easily accomplished. His forces suffered considerable losses and he was compelled once more to flee into Texas.<sup>39</sup> Even these defeats did not put an end to his efforts, however, for in the spring of 1853 he and his filibusters made another sally and in 1855 rumors of still another invasion were current.<sup>40</sup>

By this desultory fighting the Mexican treasury was deprived of much needed revenue, the Rio Grande frontier was kept in a state of almost constant excitement, and race bitterness was intensified. The Americans along the border were chagrined by the defeat of their comrades and by the execution of several who were taken prisoners; Ávalos of Matamoras was burned in effigy at New Orleans, and hanged in effigy, with much celebration, on the banks of the Rio Grande opposite Matamoras;<sup>41</sup> an officer of the filibusters crossed the river one evening at twilight, surprised and dispersed a Mexican guard of ten persons, and seized their horses; and a party of Anglo-Americans from Laredo, Texas, several times menaced the Mexican town of Monterey-Laredo on the opposite bank of the river.<sup>42</sup> The Mexicans, on the other hand, were encouraged by the success of their arms to make excursions into Texas. One of these parties destroyed the ranch of A. V. Edmundson some forty miles above Brownsville and declared that the Mexicans intended to rob and kill all the Americans living along the river.<sup>43</sup> Ávalos,

<sup>38</sup> Comandante of Nuevo León to the Minister of War and Marine, December 9, 1851, *El Siglo XIX*, 26 de diciembre de 1851.

<sup>39</sup> Antonio Canales to the Comandante of Nueva León, February 24, 1852, *loc. cit.*, 9 de marzo de 1852; Smith to Adjutant-General, July 18, 1852, *Sen. Ex. Doc.* No. 1 Part II, 32 cong., 2 sess. (ser. 659), pp. 15-20; Letcher to Webster, March 8, 1852, *ibid.*, No. 87, 32 cong., 1 sess. (ser. 621), p. 125.

<sup>40</sup> Bolton, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-300.

<sup>41</sup> Domenech, *op. cit.*, pp. 347-348.

<sup>42</sup> Emory, "Report", *loc. cit.*, pp. 61-62; Mexican Border Commission of 1873, *Report*, pp. 188-189.

<sup>43</sup> *Alla California*, June 16, 1852.



who naturally was not pleased by the attitude assumed by the Anglo-Americans toward him, retaliated by instigating a widespread Indian invasion of Texas.<sup>44</sup>

#### THE FIRST EXPEDITION OF RAOUSSET-BOULBON

While Carvajal and his followers were disturbing the tranquility of the lower Rio Grande, the French adventurers, who were at this time so numerous in California, were attempting to get possession of the mines of Sonora. The first two of their schemes, led by Charles de Pindrey and Lepine de Sigondis respectively, simply responded to an offer of lands on the part of Mexico in return for fighting the Apaches on the frontier, and were therefore devoid of filibustering intent.<sup>45</sup> The third seems to have been in its inception merely a mining and colonizing enterprize, but it later developed into something quite different.

Gaston Raousset de Boulbon, a French nobleman and soldier of fortune, had become deeply interested in the mines of Sonora. He soon evolved a mining and colonizing scheme so attractive that it enlisted the interest of the French consul at San Francisco and the French minister in Mexico.<sup>46</sup> In the early spring of 1852, he effected the organization of a company which styled itself *La Restauradora*, obtained the approval of the Mexican government, and secured the Swiss bankers Jecker, Torre, and Company as underwriters for the enterprise.<sup>47</sup> On May 19, 1852, with a company of 150 Frenchmen, he set sail for Guaymas. Soon after his arrival at that port, he found he had rivals in the field whose influence upon the government tended greatly to embarrass his movements.<sup>48</sup> He was forced to remain here a

<sup>44</sup> Domenech, *op. cit.* pp. 347-348.

<sup>45</sup> *Alta California*, October 18, 1852; W. O. Scroggs, *Filibusters and Financiers* (New York, 1916) 20-23 and authorities cited; F. Juda, "California Filibusters", *Grizzly Bear*, February, 1919, pp. 3-4.

<sup>46</sup> Scroggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>47</sup> *Alta California*, November 25, 1852; Scroggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>48</sup> Another banking house of San Francisco had enlisted the interest of prominent officials in Sonora in the same mines which Raousset had set out to procure. *Alta California*, October 25, and November 22, 1852; Scroggs, *op. cit.* p. 25.

month before he was able to start for his destination, and, after his departure, he was subjected to one limitation after another by Blanco, the military commander of the Mexican frontier. At length, his exasperation became uncontrollable, and he determined upon open rebellion. He posed as the champion and protector of an independent Sonora, and began hostilities by an attack upon Hermosillo, which he stormed and took on October 14. This victory, however, brought little advantage. The population did not respond to Raousset's appeal, several of the company had received wounds, and Raousset and a number of his officers were ill. The Frenchmen accordingly became anxious to get out of the interior. They soon patched up an agreement with the Mexican authorities by which they were to be allowed to proceed unmolested to Guaymas in consideration for the evacuation of Hermosillo. Setting out thither, they were met on the outskirts of the town by Blanco, who induced them to disband and submit to the laws and authorities of the country. Most of them soon found their way back to San Francisco. The Count himself, who had gone to Mazatlán did not return to California until the following spring.<sup>49</sup>

When he reached San Francisco, Raousset was met with an ovation which left no doubt as to the sentiments of the Californians towards filibustering; and, enthused by this reception, he immediately set about to plan an invasion of Sonora. News of these preparations soon alarmed the Mexican government. The members of the foreign diplomatic corps in Mexico were notified of the affair and of the attitude which the government proposed to assume toward it.<sup>50</sup> At the same time, the executives of Sonora, Chihuahua, Sinaloa, and Lower California were ordered to prepare for defense.<sup>51</sup> But Santa Anna, who had

<sup>49</sup> Scroggs, *op. cit.* p. 27-28; Juda, *op. cit.*, p. 4. It was reported that the merchants of Guaymas, in order to avoid the injury which an open conflict would occasion to their business, paid the Frenchmen to disband and leave in peace. See *Alta California*, December 18 and 23, 1852.

<sup>50</sup> *Circular al Cuerpo Diplomático extranjero*, 17 de mayo de 1853; *Bolton Transcripts of Documents in the Mexican Archives*. These are in the private library of Herbert E. Bolton, University of California.

<sup>51</sup> *Pinart Transcripts, Sonora*, IV. 173.

just come to power, was apparently pondering whether it would not be wise to use the French as a buffer against the Indians and the expansionists of the United States. Levasseur, the French Minister in Mexico, learned of Santa Anna's state of mind and wrote the consul of his government at San Francisco. The month of June accordingly found Raousset again in Mexico seeking to obtain a contract for the peaceful introduction of a French colony. For some reason, however, he not only failed in his efforts, but so aroused the enmity of the dictator that he proclaimed the Count an outlaw and forced him to flee for his life.<sup>42</sup>

When Raousset arrived at San Francisco once more, he found that the Americans had almost completed plans for an expedition against Mexico. This made him all the more determined to secure a foothold in Sonora, and he now began to solicit funds for a new enterprise. But his scheme progressed very slowly on account of the great popularity of the American project.<sup>43</sup>

#### THE INVASION OF WALKER

The proposed American expedition was none other than that of the famous filibuster, William Walker. With the details of this rather interesting enterprise *per se* the writer is not so much concerned as with its international aspects, and its general place in the series of raids against Mexico. The incidents of this raid will therefore be narrated very briefly.

Walker, who was living at the time in California, became interested in the founding of a colony in Sonora some time during the year 1852,<sup>44</sup> and in June, 1853, he and his former law partner, Henry P. Watkins, went as agents of the enterprise to Guaymas. Here they asked permits to proceed to the interior, where they intended to have an interview with the governor of Sonora; but the Mexican authorities, suspicious of their intentions,

<sup>42</sup> Scroggs, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, *op. et. loc. cit.*; Juda, *op. cit.* pp. 4-5. For the correspondence exchanged between Raousset and the Mexican military authorities, see *Pinart Transcripts, Sonora*, V. *passim*.

<sup>44</sup> Walker, *The War in Nicaragua* (N. Y. 1860), p. 19.

refused to grant the request and suggested that it would be wise for them to get out of the country.<sup>55</sup> Walker had remained at Guaymas long enough, however, to convince himself that a small body of Americans could hold the frontier of Sonora and protect its inhabitants from the Indians;<sup>56</sup> and, accordingly, his failure to gain a semblance of legality for the enterprise was in no way discouraging.

When the agents returned, they found preparations well under way, and on October 17, at one o'clock in the morning, after having experienced considerable vexation from the interference of the federal authorities, a party of forty-five under the leadership of Walker set sail in the brig *Caroline*.<sup>57</sup> Although Walker's ultimate aim was Sonora, he deemed it wise first to occupy Lower California as a base for operations.<sup>58</sup> Proceeding down the coast, he put in for the first time at Cape San Lucas. In the vicinity of this port, the filibusters spent several days awaiting reenforcements which they expected to arrive at any time. Concluding at length that the auxiliaries had passed them, they set out for La Paz, the designated point of reunion. They landed here on November 3, and had little trouble in making a prisoner of the *Gobernador Principal* Espinosa and seizing the town. One of the first things they did was to tear down the Mexican flag and hoist one of their own, proclaiming the republic of Lower California. Then for the next few days they seem to have engaged in pillage and destruction, not only sacking the customs-house and the home of the *Gobernador Principal*, carrying off the archives of both, and setting fire to the buildings, but also plundering whatever other houses suited their fancy.

When they were on the point of leaving La Paz, the new executive, Rebolledo, who had been sent out to supersede

<sup>55</sup> Antonio Campuzano to the Governor of Sonora, July 3, 1853, and accompanying documents, *Bolton Transcripts*.

<sup>56</sup> Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 21. The protection of the Sonorans from the Indians was a favorite plea of Walker.

<sup>57</sup> Scroggs, *Filibusters and Financiers*, p. 36, says they set sail on the 16th, but this is evidently an error. See *Alta California*, October 18, and the Statement of F. Duclaud, a passenger on the *Caroline*, in *Bolton Transcripts*.

<sup>58</sup> Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

Espinosa, put in his appearance. He was just in time to fall into the hands of the filibusters, and they accordingly confined him along with their other prisoners. This occasioned some delay, and, during the interval, it was learned that Mexican troops were coming up. This information emboldened the citizens of La Paz to attack the filibusters while they were embarking. In the encounter which followed, three of the Walker party were killed and others were wounded. The Mexicans also suffered some casualties.<sup>59</sup>

From La Paz Walker returned to Cape San Lucas. Landing here two days later, he prepared to set up his government, but for some reason changed his mind. Magdalena was next spoken of as a possible capital, but again Walker changed his mind. Ensenada was then decided upon, and the filibusters reached here on November 29. The president immediately organized the government, and issued an address to the people of the United States giving his reasons for the course he had taken.<sup>60</sup>

At the same time he sent out a detachment to a neighboring ranch to secure horses for mounting his troops. These having been obtained, he dispatched a force of improvised cavalry to take the village and military colony of Santo Tomás. Negrete, the commander of the colony, was notified of their intention, however, and he succeeded in repulsing the filibusters and forcing them to retire. Moreover, the Mexican leader harassed them during their retreat, pursuing them to the filibuster encampment to which he laid siege. On the morning of December 14, the filibusters made a sortie and drove the besiegers away. But the captive Mexican executives in the meantime induced the quarter-master of the *Caroline* to sail away with the arms and supplies which remained on board.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Testimony of Duclaud, *loc. cit.* The filibusters claimed that a party of six who were sent ashore to gather wood were fired upon, and that Walker and a company of thirty came to their rescue, administering a sound defeat. For both reports as they reached Upper California, see *Alta California*, December 8, 1853, and January 3, 1854.

<sup>60</sup> *Alta California*, December 8, 1853.

<sup>61</sup> Samuel Ruland to the San Diego *Herald*, December 16, 1853, quoted *Alta California*, December 27, 1853; Espinosa to the Minister of War and Marine, December 18, 1853, in *Bolton Transcripts*.

This left the filibusters in rather desperate straits, but reinforcements arrived a few days later, and the party, now numbering more than two hundred, began to forage off of the country and to prepare for the advance into Sonora. While the filibusters seized horses to mount their men, and "confiscated" and slaughtered cattle in order to obtain dried beef for the march, their leader proclaimed the Republic of Sonora and annexed it to the state of Lower California.<sup>42</sup> On February 13, they set out to occupy their new republic, marching *via* Santo Tomás and San Vicente. While at the latter village, Walker summoned the natives to a convention. The delegates were received with military honors, and forced both to take the oath of allegiance and to subscribe to a declaration which Walker presented to them!<sup>43</sup> Having thus obtained useful evidence of the adhesion of the natives, the adventurers, now considerably reduced in number by sickness and desertion, left a small garrison at San Vicente and set out for their destination.

Two weeks later a party of ragged, half-starved filibusters were said to have crossed over the Colorado. Fifty of them immediately deserted and went to Fort Yuma. Walker, with the remainder, stayed in Sonora only three days. The party then recrossed the Colorado and retraced their steps to San Vicente. Arriving there, they found that the garrison had been annihilated by the band of the famous robber, Meléndrez. This chieftain now began to threaten and annoy Walker and his company, and they soon decided it was time for them to effect their escape into the United States. Meléndrez, though constantly encircling them in bantering fashion, did not risk an encounter. At length, early in May, 1854, thirty-three of the filibusters crossed over the line near Tía Juana where they surrendered themselves to the officers of the United States army.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *Alta California*, January 30 and 31, 1854.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, March 15, 1854; Marcy to Almonte, June 12, 1854, in *Bolton Transcripts*.

<sup>44</sup> *Alta California*, April 28, and May 16, 1854. The best account of this expedition is found in Scroggs, *Filibusters and Financiers*, p. 31 ff. The writer, as will appear from the citations, has not only had access to most of Scroggs's sources, but he has used transcripts of Mexican official documents and other Mexican sources which Scroggs did not have.

## ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD THE FILIBUSTERS

From this sketch of the filibustering raids it will be seen that between 1848 and 1853 Mexico was rarely free from their threats. Moreover, the situation was rendered more serious by the fact that the government of the United States was either unwilling or unable to restrain its lawless, adventurous subjects. While it is probable that Mexico clung to the former view, there seems nevertheless to have been a great deal of truth in the latter. On the whole it may be asserted, that during this period (from 1848 to 1853) the successive federal administrations were not *unwilling*, but *unable* to restrain them. In taking this view, it is not necessary to maintain that the motives of the government were entirely unselfish. What was desired at the time was transit and communication privileges, commercial concessions, and probably more land; and the saner statesmen realized that this show of force was one of the main obstacles preventing the achievement of these ends. If the federal government of the United States had the disposition to prevent such raids, why then was it unable to do so? In order to answer this question it will be necessary to consider briefly the origin and development of the neutrality laws of the United States, as well as some of the attempts to enforce them.

## LEGISLATION OF THE UNITED STATES REGARDING NEUTRALITY

The question of neutrality was first brought to the attention of the United States government by the European war which resulted from the French Revolution. Washington's stand in regard to the attitude which his nation should assume toward this struggle is well known. On April 22, 1793, he issued his famous proclamation of neutrality, and circular letters were immediately dispatched to the executive authorities of the several states requiring their coöperation, with force if necessary, in order to obtain its observance. But French sympathy was strong; the proclamation was not supported by an undivided public opinion; and the question, moreover, assumed a sort of political aspect. The states either had no laws reaching the subject, or felt little disposition to enforce them, and those



indicted under federal proceedings had recourse to that paladium of English liberty, the jury trial. The outcome was shown by the case of Gideon Henfield who was prosecuted for taking service on a French privateer in 1793. A sympathetic jury brought in a verdict of not guilty, and his acquittal was hailed with applause by a large number of American citizens.<sup>65</sup>

This important question moved Washington to call a special session of Congress, and one of the results was the neutrality law of June 5, 1794. This act contained a provision for its expiration within a little more than two years, but it was extended for a limited time in 1797 and perpetuated by act of April 24, 1800. The revolt of the Spanish colonies led to an attempt to revise the law, and on April 20, 1818, an act superseding all previous legislation was approved; but except for the addition of the phrase, "colony, district, or people", so as to make it applicable to the Spanish-American insurgents, it was virtually identical with the act of 1794. The Canadian insurrection gave occasion for another attempt to modify the regulations regarding neutrality, which resulted, however, only in the temporary measure of March 10, 1838. The law of 1818 was therefore in operation during the period under consideration; and, in order to understand the procedure of the United States in regard to the filibuster raids which have here been narrated, it will be necessary to quote the portion of this act which was applicable to them.

*And be it further enacted, That if any person shall, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, begin or set on foot, or provide or prepare the means for, any military expedition or enterprise, to be carried on from thence against the territory or dominion of any foreign prince or state, colony, district, or people with whom the United States are at peace, every such person so offending, shall be declared guilty of a high misdemeanor and shall be fined not exceeding three thousand dollars, and imprisoned not more than three years.*<sup>66</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Marshall, *Life of Washington* (Philadelphia, 1804-1807), V. 418 ff.; U. S. v.; Henfield, 11 *Federal Cases*, 1099, and U. S. v. O'Sullivan et al., 27 *ibid.*, 368 ff.

<sup>66</sup> § U. S. Stat. at Large, 449, sec. 6. For the provisions of these acts see U. S. Stat. at Large, under dates mentioned. A concise history of the laws is given in U. S. v. O'Sullivan, 27 Fed. Cases, 377 ff.

## DIFFICULTIES IN THE APPLICATION OF THE LAW

In the application of these provisions several difficulties were confronted. In the first place, the language is indefinite. In speaking of the portion of the law which has been quoted, John Marshall said there was "want of precision in the description of the offense, which might produce some difficulty in deciding what cases should come within it".<sup>67</sup> The act made it a misdemeanor to set on foot an expedition, or to prepare means for an expedition against a country at peace with the United States; but was it a violation of the law to hold meetings and appoint committees to provide means and make collections for the purpose of aiding a revolution in such country?<sup>68</sup> It was to be a penal offense to set on foot a military expedition; what was meant by the term "military expedition"? Would the act apply to emigrants who were leaving with their arms for protection, but with no apparent military formation?<sup>69</sup> What, moreover, was meant by the phrase, "to be carried on from thence"? If a leader who had decided to engage in hostilities against a country friendly to the United States, should decide upon a certain rendezvous outside of the jurisdiction of the United States, would citizens who proceeded to the rendezvous in response to an informal invitation to join the enterprise expose themselves to the penalty of the law?<sup>70</sup>

In the second place, the law was penal rather than preventative, and therefore did not provide sufficient precautionary means to enable the government to arrest persons entering upon such enterprises before the crime was consummated.<sup>71</sup> Insofar as it related to the acts of armed ships, this defect was remedied by a measure passed on March 3, 1817, which provided that the owners of vessels must give bond for their orderly conduct

<sup>67</sup> *Democratic Review*, old series, XXXI: (April, 1852), p. 310.

<sup>68</sup> *Ho. Ex. Doc.* No. 74, 25 cong., 2 sess. (ser. 325), pp. 392-393; *U. S. v. O'Sullivan*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>69</sup> *Ho. Doc.* No. 2, 24 cong., 2 sess. (ser. 301), pp. 52, *passim*.

<sup>70</sup> *Democratic Review*, XXXI. (April and June, 1852), 310-311.

<sup>71</sup> *U. S. v. O'Sullivan*, *loc. cit.*; *Ho. Doc.* No. 35, 25 cong., 3 sess. (ser. 346), p. 340.

while upon the high seas. But this was repealed in the following year. Again, on March 10, 1838, the crisis in British relations led to the passage of a law adapted to the peculiar conditions of the northern frontier. By this act, a new rule of evidence was introduced, founded on probable cause alone as sufficient authority to seize and stop, without a warrant, the incursions into Canada; and a new set of officers—collectors, surveyors, inspectors of customs, naval officers, marshals, etc.—was charged with the duty of enforcing its provisions. But this law expired by its own limitations and no similar provision was re-enacted.<sup>73</sup>

Lastly, the regulations regarding neutrality were not backed by public opinion, without which any law is impotent. It was sometimes difficult to get the federal officials in the regions where the infractions occurred to run counter to public sentiment and enforce the laws;<sup>73</sup> and when indictments were obtained, it was virtually impossible to find a jury that would convict. In fact, it was asserted in 1851 that there had not been a single conviction under the sixth article of the act of 1818.<sup>74</sup>

#### FEDERAL PROCEDURE REGARDING THE FILIBUSTERS, 1848-1853

The assistance given by Anglo-American citizens to the Texans had revealed to Mexico the inefficiency of the attempts of the government of the United States to maintain complete neutrality. The results of the efforts to suppress the filibustering enterprises from 1848 to 1853 were hardly more assuring. True, the Round Island scheme of 1849 was completely shattered by a vigorous presidential proclamation and by the efforts of seven war vessels which cut off all supplies from the adventurers and made their departure impossible. Warrants were then issued for the arrest of five of the leaders; but owing to the fact that the enterprise seemed discredited, and on account of the state of public opinion, no further action was taken.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup> 5 *Stat. at Large*, 212.

<sup>74</sup> This was especially true in regard to the Texas Revolution. See *Ho. Doc.* No. 2, 24 cong., 2 sess. (ser. 301), pp. 38-41, 52, 64, and *Ho. Doc.* No. 74, 25 cong., 2 sess. (ser. 325), pp. 389-390.

<sup>75</sup> *U. S. v. O'Sullivan et al.*

<sup>76</sup> Caldwell, *The López Expeditions to Cuba*, pp. 54-55.

The failure of the Round Island enterprise caused the filibusters to move with great caution. The vigilance of the authorities in New York had led López, early in 1850, to shift his main base to New Orleans. Here the filibusters found legal advisors who counseled them how to operate within the law.<sup>76</sup> And when, after the invasion of Cuba had been consummated, the remnant of the expedition was chased into Key West by a Spanish man-of-war, no attempt was made to arrest them, although their vessel was seized.<sup>77</sup> Soon afterwards, however, the grand jury of New Orleans found true bills against sixteen of the leaders. The secretary of the interior urged upon the district attorney there the importance of the case, declaring that the filibusters had brought the laws of the country into disrepute and disturbed its relations with a foreign power, and that therefore it was the president's "earnest" desire that they should be "brought to trial and punishment".<sup>78</sup> In regard to the first trial that came up, that of Henderson, the charge of the judge was, moreover, somewhat unfavorable to the defendant. Nevertheless, three successive juries were divided and failed to convict, and the other fifteen filibusters were accordingly discharged.<sup>79</sup>

The federal authorities also made considerable effort to break up the López expedition planned in 1851. There was issued another proclamation even more vigorous than that of 1849.<sup>80</sup> Contingents in Ohio and New York were arrested and brought to trial, and once more there was an earnest, though vain attempt on the part of the federal judge to obtain a verdict of guilty from a too sympathetic jury.<sup>81</sup> But, due either to uncertainty

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57; District Attorney Hunton to Clayton, May 1, 1850, *Sen. Ex. Doc.* No. 57, 31 Cong., 1 sess. (ser. 561), p. 25; Caldwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 ff.

<sup>77</sup> Caldwell, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

<sup>78</sup> Ewing to Hunton, June 10, 1850, quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

<sup>79</sup> Caldwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-89.

<sup>80</sup> In this proclamation Fillmore declared that those apprehended in their invasion of Cuba by the Spanish government need expect no intercession from the United States, no matter how desperate the straits to which they should be reduced. See *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, No. 1, part 1, 32 cong., 1 sess. (ser. 611), pp. 82-83.

<sup>81</sup> *U. S. v. O. Sullivan et al.*, *loc. cit.*; *Democratic Review*, XXXI. (April, 1852), 307 ff.

regarding the application of the law to its proceedings, or to wilful neglect, the officer of the customs-house at New Orleans allowed the preparations of the main division of the expedition to go on virtually unmolested, and made no attempt to prevent its final departure. The good intentions of the federal government were evinced, however, by the severe censure and ultimate dismissal of this official.<sup>82</sup>

With reference to the proposed expeditions against Mexico the federal authorities seem likewise to have exercised some little precaution. So far as has been ascertained, no action was taken in regard to Moorehead expedition. The readiness with which it fell to pieces of its own accord may have been taken as an indication that none was needed. Preparations for an invasion of the Sandwich Islands from California had given occasion for the instruction of Hitchcock, the commander of the Pacific Division, to obstruct the projected expedition or any other movement there in violation of neutrality.<sup>83</sup> For the first Raousset enterprise, which in its inception was free from filibustering intent, the government of the United States would of course not be responsible. His plans in the spring of 1853 had led the Mexican minister of relations to address Conkling, the United States Minister, upon the subject; and the latter, in reply, said that he was sure his government had taken no action only because the necessary positive proof was lacking.<sup>84</sup> News of the plans of Walker occasioned the exchange of another note, in which Conkling notified the Mexican government that he would transmit the information to his government in the "full assurance" that it would "exert, if necessary, all the powers with which it is [was] invested by the constitution and laws of the Union, to cause its neutral obligations to be faithfully fulfilled". He declined, however, to address a letter to the Governor of California relative to his duties in regard to the matter, because he felt that the public functionaries of that state and in that

<sup>82</sup> Caldwell, *op. cit.*, p. 90, and note.

<sup>83</sup> Evidence submitted by U. S. District Attorney Inge to the California Superior Court, *Alta California*, Oct. 11, 1854.

<sup>84</sup> Conkling to Alamán, May 18, 1853, in *Bolton Transcripts*.

state were already aware of these duties, and because he was shortly to be superseded.<sup>85</sup> Gadsden had arrived at his Mexican post before the ability of those functionaries to prevent an invasion of Mexico from California had been tested. The attitude of the government of the United States toward proposed filibuster incursions into Mexican territory during the period under consideration had to be judged, therefore largely by the measures taken to suppress the Carvajal enterprises.

As soon as news of the movements of filibusters under Carvajal reached Washington, the federal government began to act. On September 22, 1851, President Fillmore instructed Twiggs and Smith, commanders of the military forces in Louisiana and Texas, to restrain the proposed expeditions.<sup>86</sup> One month later he issued a proclamation warning citizens of the United States of the penalties of the law regarding such enterprises and, as in the case of Cuba, declaring that all participants would place themselves beyond the pale of American protection.<sup>87</sup> Pursuant to his orders, the commander in Texas seems to have made considerable exertions to break up the filibuster plans. All the troops in the department were ordered to join in carrying out the instructions of the president, and between the officers at Fort Brown and General Ávalos, at Matamoras, there was apparently perfect harmony. In speaking of the raids of 1851, Webster declared that his government could "reproach itself with no dereliction of duty", though the efforts of the military authorities had been in a measure paralyzed by the desertion of troops to join the standard of Carvajal,<sup>88</sup> while Smith reported that the final suppression of the raid of 1852 was, "in a great measure, due to the personal efforts of General Harney, which so embarrassed and precipitated the final revolutionary movements, that all precautions for certain success could not

<sup>85</sup> Same to Bonilla, August 8, 1853, *loc. cit.*

<sup>86</sup> Quoted in *El Siglo XIX*, 30 de octubre de 1851.

<sup>87</sup> *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, No. 1, Part 1, 32 cong., 1 sess. (ser. 611), pp. 82-83.

<sup>88</sup> Webster to Letcher, December 22, 1851, *Sen. Ex. Doc.* No. 97, 32 cong., 1 sess. (ser. 621), pp. 109-111.

be taken".<sup>89</sup> In the spring of that year, Harney arrested Carvajal and turned him over to the civil authorities, but he was immediately released on bond and began preparations for another invasion.<sup>90</sup>

It was possibly these preparations that led Webster to suggest to Fillmore the advisability of recommending to congress the re-enactment of a measure similar to that of 1838, but even more stringent. Fillmore followed Webster's suggestion, but congress failed to take any action.<sup>91</sup> Early in 1853, therefore, Carvajal, as has been seen, was able to make other incursions into Mexico. In the spring of that year, however, he and some of his associates were again apprehended by the military authorities of the United States.<sup>92</sup> On this occasion they were prosecuted, and acquitted as usual;<sup>93</sup> but the Mexican government probably did not learn the result of the trial until after the Gadsden treaty had been signed.

#### REPORTS IN MEXICO REGARDING THE RAIDS

In order fully to understand the significance of these expeditions, one must consider the impression they made in Mexico. None of them were important from a military standpoint, and under normal conditions they need have occasioned no great alarm; but the memory of the Texas affair was still fresh in the Mexican mind, and the war of 1846-1848 had left its legacy of bitterness and suspicion which the loud expression of expansionist sentiment in the United States would not allow to subside. It was easy, therefore, for exaggerated rumors to gain a certain amount of credence. In October, 1850, the Editor of *El Siglo XIX*, who was usually not an alarmist, expressed his conviction that the "turbulent waters of the Rio Bravo" opposed a very weak barrier to the "audacious marauders of the opposite

<sup>89</sup> Smith to Adjutant-General, July 18, 1852, *Sen. Ex. Doc.* No. 1, 32 Cong., 2 sess. (ser. 659) pp. 15-20.

<sup>90</sup> Niceto de Zamacois, *Historia de Mejico*. . . (Mexico, 1877-1882), XIII. 530.

<sup>91</sup> *Ho. Ex. Doc.* No. 112, 32 cong., 1 sess. (Ser. 648), pp. 1-2.

<sup>92</sup> Zamacois, *op. cit.*, XIII. 482, *passim*.

<sup>93</sup> *The Texas Monument*, January 25, 1854.



bank".<sup>64</sup> The editor of *El Universal* had likewise expressed alarm regarding the northern states of Mexico; and when news arrived of Clingham's prediction (made in congress, February 15, 1851) that the Californians would soon move upon the adjacent provinces of Mexico, this journalist seized upon the speech as evidence confirming his view of the matter.<sup>65</sup>

Then came the report of the departure of the Moorehead expedition. On July 9, *El Universal* printed an article which had been sent from New Orleans by some friend of Mexico. The correspondent declared that the greed of the American people was increasing, and that if they once obtained a foothold in Sonora they would receive such constant reinforcements that it would be very difficult to dislodge them. As proof of this growing sentiment for expansion, he cited an article from the *New York Sun* of June 9, which contended that Mexico could never enjoy peace and prosperity until it was completely absorbed by the United States and its inhabitants placed under their truly republican institutions. When the sub-inspector of the military colonies in Sonora reported that a party of forty-eight Americans, presumably a portion of the Moorehead expedition, had crossed the line, he said he expected six hundred to follow soon.<sup>66</sup> Similar fears were expressed by *El Voz del Pueblo* of Ures.<sup>67</sup> Probably the climax of alarm regarding this enterprise was voiced by the editor of *El Universal* on July 20. A quotation from the *Herald* of New York praising the vigorous and progressive population of the Pacific who were already in search of other territory where they might exercise their skill and industry, furnished the theme for an editorial entitled: "Watch, therefore, for Ye know not the Day nor the Hour"!

The Carvajal raids excited even more alarm, because they tended to confirm the doubt which had previously been entertained regarding the loyalty of some of the North Mexican states. As early as 1849 a faction on this frontier had proclaimed

<sup>64</sup> 21 y 28 de octubre de 1850.

<sup>65</sup> 15 y 29 de abril de 1851.

<sup>66</sup> Sub-Inspector of Military Colonies to the Governor of Sonora, July 9, 1851, *Pinart Transcripts, Sonora*, IV. 329-330.

<sup>67</sup> Quoted in *El Siglo XIX*, 29 de agosto de 1851.

the Sierra Madre Republic.<sup>98</sup> When the plan of *La Loba*, under which Carvajal was fighting, was promulgated, it was probably natural that it should at once be connected with this movement. On October 12, 1851, *El Siglo* printed a letter from Saltillo declaring that the scheme had for its object the formation of a republic of the Sierra Madre States. The *Bandera Mexicana* of Matamoras reported that it was designed not only to set up such a republic, but ultimately to seek annexation to the United States.<sup>99</sup> On October 15, *El Siglo* quoted from the *Rio Bravo* of Brownsville, Texas, which was squarely back of the enterprise. This paper declared that if foreign gold and Arista should attempt to suppress the movement, ten thousand Americans were ready to hold aloft the flag of Sierra Madre; but, at the same time, it maintained that there was no desire for annexation to the United States. The editor of *El Siglo* believed that this disclaimer was false, and in confirmation of this opinion, reported two weeks later that Carvajal and his followers had laid aside all pretenses and boldly proclaimed the Sierra Madre Republic and annexation.<sup>100</sup>

Excitement seemed to be just as intense in Mexican official circles as among the journalists. On October 28, Tornel made a speech regarding the situation in the Senate. He said that he believed the purpose of the enterprise was to "despoil the nation of three states immediately, of others later, and of its sovereign and independent existence" ultimately. His opinion was based, in part, upon the reports of the newspapers of Texas, Louisiana, Florida, and New York.<sup>101</sup> Letcher, who was the minister of the United States in Mexico at the time, complained in October, 1851, that the movement embarrassed all his negotiations exceedingly. "Why grant privileges", it is said, "to a people whose object it is to rob us of the whole of our country whenever it may suit their convenience or gratify their cupidity"?<sup>102</sup> Again,

<sup>98</sup> Bolton, *Guide to . . . the Principal Archives of Mexico*, p. 298.

<sup>99</sup> *El Siglo XIX*, 15 de octubre de 1851.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 de octubre.

<sup>101</sup> Quoted in *El Universal*, 30 de octubre.

<sup>102</sup> Letcher to Webster, October 29, 1851, *Sen. Ex. Doc.* No. 97, 32 cong., 1 sess. (ser. 621), pp. 100-102.

in 1852, he wrote that the "third invasion against Mexico by Carvajal . . . . has [had] awakened a feeling of intense prejudice against everything connected with American interests".<sup>103</sup>

There was similar excitement in regard to the proposed new scheme of Raousset de Boulbon and that of Walker and associates. The Mexican officials on the Pacific coast grasped with avidity every bit of information which could possibly be had. A favorite method was to take the sworn statement of the captains and passengers who put in at the ports of this section. Such statements taken from a British vessel which entered the port of Mazatlan in the spring of 1853 indicated that Raousset had a force of fifteen hundred adventurers.<sup>104</sup> Of a more alarming nature was the testimony taken from some of the Mexican passengers of the *R. Adams* which anchored at Guaymas in

December, 1853. These witnesses estimated the number of filibusters already on their way to Mexico at from fifteen hundred to two thousand, while they believed some four or five thousand would follow in case the former met with success. They declared that the meetings of the adventurers in San Francisco were quite open, that the enterprises had the support of several wealthy firms of that city, and that the officials there were ostensibly opposed to, but in reality in favor of the schemes. Moreover, the filibusters were in communication with certain individuals of Sonora, which state, together with Lower California, they intended to annex within a year. Having accomplished this, they then contemplated the annexation of the remainder of Mexico—an achievement which they expected to realize by the end of three years.<sup>105</sup>

How was the crisis to be met? That the Mexican government was in no condition to repulse a formidable invasion seemed obvious. Santa Anna's picture of the situation when he came to power in the spring of 1853 was probably little exaggerated. He said that the fortresses were dismantled, the frontiers

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 125.

<sup>104</sup> *El Siglo XIX*, 8 de abril de 1852.

<sup>105</sup> *Bolton Transcripts*.

abandoned, the treasury empty, the credit exhausted, the army disorganized and poorly equipped.<sup>106</sup> It will not be surprising, therefore, if Mexico under the circumstance should demand, as a *quid pro quo* of any negotiations with the United States, an agreement on the part of the latter more vigorously to prosecute such piratical attempts.

As a matter of fact, one of the first problems which was called to the attention of James Gadsden after his arrival at Mexico City in August, 1853, was that of the Anglo-American filibusters.<sup>107</sup> Their movements constantly disturbed his mission, and he found it impossible to negotiate a treaty acceptable to the Mexican government without including in it some provision for more energetic effort on the part of the United States to prevent such raids. Article eight of the treaty as originally drawn up obligated the United States to pursue with the navy such filibustering expeditions as succeeded in eluding the civil and military forces of the government and getting out to the high seas. The senate of the United States struck out the article,<sup>108</sup> however, and the treaty in its final form contains no reference to the matter.

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<sup>106</sup> Antonio L. de Santa Anna, *A Sus Compatriotes* (Mexico, 1858) p. 8 ff.

<sup>107</sup> Bonilla to Gadsden, August 20, 1853, and Gadsden to Bonilla, August 22, 1853, in *Bolton Transcripts*.

<sup>108</sup> *Sen. Ex. Journal*, IX. 292-293.

## THE SPANISH LAKE

From the early sixteenth century Spain attempted to comprehend within its vast circle of "closed seas" the entire area of the Pacific. The antipodal extension of the papal line of demarcation gave a certain sanction to the claim from its very inception.<sup>1</sup> However, the admonitory efficacy of this ban was largely nullified by the early apostatizing of the maritime powers most likely to challenge such an assumption,<sup>2</sup> and by the refusal of France to accept its principle as binding.<sup>3</sup> This rather unsubstantial claim Spain fortified with the right of discovery. Núñez de Balboa declared the sea, and its islands and contiguous territories the property of the Castillian crown, while the work of Magellan and of Cortes further strengthened the hold of Spain upon the South Sea. To bolster up its inordinate assertion of ownership Spain also invoked the old theory of the *mare clausum*, which was here applied to an unprecedented area of water.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bourne, "The History and Determination of the Line of Demarcation established by Pope Alexander VI, between the Spanish and Portuguese Fields of Discovery and Colonization", in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1891* (Washington, 1892); Harriette, *The Diplomatic History of America* (London, 1897); Van der Linden, "Alexander VI. and the Demarcation of the Maritime and Colonial Domains of Spain and Portugal, 1493-1494", in *The American Historical Review*, XXII. (1916).

<sup>2</sup> "The authority of the Pope has absolutely no force against the eternal law of nature and of nations." Grotius, *The Freedom of the Seas, or the Right which belongs to the Dutch to take part in the East Indian Trade* (1608), edition of 1916, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> "Les Français contesterent la validité de cet acte. L'ambassadeur de France fut enjoint à faire observer sur ce sujet que ni le roi de France ni aucun prince d'Europe n'a jamais prétendu être retenu par la considération de la ligne de demarcation que les Espagnols citent comme un titre incontestable, la décision du pape à cet égard n'étant que entre le roi d'Espagne et le roi de Portugal." (Pontchartrain to the Comte de Marcin, November 2, 1701), quoted by Dahlgren, *Les relations commerciales et maritimes entre la France et les côtes de l'océan Pacifique* (1909), p. 272.

<sup>4</sup> "Selon les idées de l'Espagne, la mer du Sud était toujours une mer fermée, un *mare clausum* au sens le plus étroit du mot." *Ibid.*, p. 239. The Spaniard Viana in contesting the force of the Dutch claim to exclusive navigation in the seas to

So far as its resources permitted, Spain relied on actual priority of occupation. However, its population and wealth, and the initiative of its rulers during the seventeenth century, were not commensurate with the work of exploration, conquest, and settlement that would have been required for the proper enforcement of its monopoly. And gigantic a scheme as it was, the domination of the Pacific was, after all, a secondary phase of Spanish world imperialism. It was always subordinated to the *Indias Occidentales*, or Western Indies—that is, to America. For the latter produced the resources for the furtherance of the quixotic ambitions of the crown in Europe, whereas the empire of the Pacific was, if not a distinct liability, at least non-contributory to the general coffers of the monarchy. Of course, exception must here be made of the settled western littoral of America, especially of Peru.

As to the actual extent of Spanish occupancy—by 1542 Spain held, or claimed, on the basis of discoveries like those of Cabrillo-Ferrelo—the whole eastern shore of the Pacific from the region of Cape Mendocino to that of Cape Horn. The southern entrance at the Straits of Magellan it later guarded with an occasional fleet, when there was danger of an invader, and for a time after the shock of Drake's incursion by Sarmiento's ill-fated

the southwest of the Philippines, and on as far as the Cape, later declared the *mare clausum* theory only a valid authorization of monopoly in such restricted areas as in the case of the Venetian control of the Adriatic. The seas, the recognition of whose ownership was coveted by the Dutch, he declared that "por su inmensidad no admiten el particular uso de una sola Potencia, contra el derecho de los demas". *Demonstracion del misero deplorable estado de las Islas Philipinas*, 1765, book II. ch. 2, sect. 10. Grotius had in fact written his famous *Liberum Mare* to combat the very claims which the Dutch themselves made after they had broken down the Portuguese monopoly of the Cape route. *Op. cit.* Grotius quoted against the pretensions of Spain the words of the Spanish juriconsult, Fernando Vázquez, to the effect that "places public and common to all by the law of nations cannot become objects of prescription". *Ibid.*, p. 52. As to the applicability of the *mare clausum* formula to so great an area, the Englishman, Selden, who argued against "a natural and perpetual communitie of the sea", said: "that which is objected, touching the vast magnitude of the Sea, and its inexhaustible abundance, is of very little weight here". *Mare Clausum; the Right and Dominion of the Sea*, edition of 1663, p. 141. See Vattel, *The Law of Nations*, edition of 1861, p. 125, for his denial of the *mare clausum* dogma.

colony.<sup>5</sup> To the far northward the only menace lay in the problematical existence of *Anian*, the mythical strait that was believed to connect the two oceans.<sup>6</sup> The possible discovery of this "northwest passage" by some foreign power seriously concerned the Spanish proprietors of the Pacific almost till the end of the colonial régime. On the opposite side the Russians had not yet crossed Siberia and broken out onto the forbidden sea. It was well along in the eighteenth century when they pushed their claims—and activities—down to the California coasts.<sup>7</sup>

The great semi-circle of islands that stretches from Kamchatka around until it disappears south of the equator among the myriad islets of Polynesia—this was to form the western barrier of the Spanish Pacific. As for Japan, militant and proud under Hideyoshi and the great Takugawa shoguns, nothing more than a spiritual conquest could be hoped for. However, the aggressive national spirit, embodied in the samurai's ideal of *bushido*, might be neutralized by the astute Jesuit propaganda of pacifism, the very issue which the Japanese foresaw and so ruthlessly forestalled.<sup>8</sup> The Spaniards also feared the Japanese ambitions for maritime expansion, and accordingly schemed to keep them a strictly insular people. It was with this purpose that they refused to further the desire of the Japanese to develop ship-building. China, too, came into the scope of the Spanish plan, and several projects were made for its conquest.<sup>9</sup> In view of the habitually pacific and inoffensive attitude of China, cherishing its traditional isolation, there was at least little positive danger from that direction. Formosa was for a

<sup>5</sup> Markham, *Narratives of the Voyages of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa to the Straits of Magellan*, in *Hakluyt Society Publications*, vol. 91.

<sup>6</sup> There is no satisfactory work on the subject of *Anian*. See, however, Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast*, I. ch. 2.

<sup>7</sup> See Golder, *Russian Expansion on the Pacific 1641-1860* (Cleveland, 1914).

<sup>8</sup> The best exposition of this phase of the Jesuit movement in Japan is found in the chapter entitled, "The Jesuit Peril", in Lafcadio Hearn's *Japan—An Attempt at Interpretation* (New York, 1904).

<sup>9</sup> Sanz Arismendi, "Un capítulo para la historia de Felipe II (relaciones entre España y China)", in *Congreso de historia y geografía hispano-americanas* (Madrid, 1914).



time a possession of Spain, while Indo-China was the object of the designs of Gomez Perez Dasmarinas and his son Luis. The Philippines constituted the very key to the whole Asiatic line of Pacific defense. The Moluccas were Spanish for a few decades, and Spain maintained its hold on Ternate of this group until 1663. The King of Borneo gave his dominions in vassalage to Governor Sande, and New Guinea had been claimed for Spain from very early by right of discovery. Finally, at the lower rim of the great arc the discoveries of Mendaña and Quiros secured for Spain some of the groups that extend south-eastward from New Guinea. Such was the achievement and the dream of Spanish imperialism in the Pacific. That the whole conception of "the Spanish Lake" was not a mere quixotic vagary of a people given to grandiose visions its approximate realization in the early seventeenth century abundantly proved. It only failed of reaching its entirety because Sarmiento and Quiros, Monterey and Vizcaino, Acuña and Silva were greater than the government they served. As it was, in its essentials it actually was for two centuries a realized fact.<sup>10</sup> Well might Grotius exclaim: "Shall the people of Spain, forsooth, assume a monopoly of all the world?"<sup>11</sup>

To the rear of the inner archipelago the Portuguese possessions served as a secondary line of defense for the Spanish control of the Pacific. The absorption of Portugal in 1580 was evidently aimed to secure ultimately the disposal of its East Indian resources, just as Louis XIV's designs on Spain had in view the utilization of the wealth of the Spanish Indies. Thus, until the separation in 1640 Portuguese policy in its larger phases was subordinated to that of Spain. Under this régime Macao became a part of the Spanish scheme of defense,<sup>12</sup> as did the vitally

<sup>10</sup> Morse Stephens, "The Conflict of European Nations in the Pacific Ocean", in Stephens and Bolton, *The Pacific Ocean in History* (1916), p. 23; Altamira, "The Share of Spain in the History of the Pacific Ocean", *ibid.*, pp. 34-54, and Spanish original, pp. 55-75.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>12</sup> The governor of the Philippines was ordered by the king to send aid to Macao in case of need. Grau y Monfalcón, "Memorial informatorio", in *Extracto historial*, f. 234. Even after the forcible dissolution of the "union", the virtual

important Malacca, which the great Albuquerque had occupied in 1511,<sup>13</sup> and for a briefer period the Javas as well. Behind these were Ceylon, the posts on the Indian peninsula—Goa, Cochin, and the rest, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Guinea way-stations.<sup>14</sup>

On the eastern side of the Americas a like function was performed by the Spanish colonies in the Caribbean area and on the Plata, since a force must pass these outworks before it could enter the open Pacific. It was due to the weakness of the precautions taken at the isthmus, which was one of the two strategic points in the line, that the buccaneers were able to break out upon the South Sea in the latter eighteenth century. The Castle of Chagre, which Morgan's men stormed in 1680, was part of the defenses of the Spanish empire of the Pacific. The importance of the Falkland Islands, over which a serious controversy arose in the latter eighteenth century, lay in their position as commanding the entrance to the Straits of Magellan and the route around Cape Horn. Brazil was also as necessary to the consummation of the Spanish scheme on this side as was Malacca on the other, a circumstance which explains the anxiety of Spain at the Dutch occupation of the Pernambuco-Bahia district of the Portuguese colony in the seventeenth century.

Over the whole vast area Spain spread its formal prohibition of foreigners. "No foreign ships shall pass to the Indies, and such as do, shall be seized," runs a law of 1540, which was repeated in 1558, 1559, 1560, and 1563.<sup>15</sup> The ruthless harrying of here-

identity of Spanish and Portuguese interests persisted in the face of foreign aggressions, and in 1641 Governor Corcuera sent reinforcements to help Macao against the Dutch. The King to Viceroy Salvatierra, January, 23, 1648, A. de I., 105-2-2.

<sup>13</sup> Morse Stephens, *Albuquerque*.

<sup>14</sup> See map entitled "The Age of Discovery, 1340-1600", in Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, pp. 107-110.

<sup>15</sup> *Leyes de Indias*, lib. 9, tit. 30, ley 22. "Los extrangeros han sido siempre excluidos del comercio de nuestras Indias". Antúñez y Acevedo, *Memorias históricas sobre la legislación, y gobierno del comercio de los españoles con sus colonias en las Indias Occidentales* (Madrid, 1797), p. 268. Veitia Linage calls this policy of exclusivism "a custom common to all nations", (*Norte de la contratación*, p. 236). There is a summary of all this prohibitory legislation in the

tics by the Inquisition,<sup>16</sup> and a system of espionage in London, Amsterdam, and other cities, to learn of the movements of prospective expeditions to the Pacific, were intended to aid the fleets and forts in maintaining this policy of exclusion.<sup>17</sup> On the "Spanish Lake" thus created the Manila Galleons might sail back and forth with as much security "as though they were on the river of Seville". And Spain meant that the Pacific should be shrouded in such secrecy that the rest of the world could know nothing of these argosies and their tempting cargoes. Thus, Drake was apparently ignorant of their existence until he had left the Pacific.

The Spaniards were favored by the very remoteness of the sea. Only with the utmost risk and difficulty could a ship sail so far without a port available in its path, where it could take on provisions and refit. In this respect Anson's problem in 1740-44 was as serious as Drake's in 1579. Scurvy, starvation, or turning-back were the alternatives that faced the ship without

Archivo Histórico Nacional at Madrid, in legajo no. 2848, entitled "Extracto circunstanciado y cronológico de las Cédulas Reales, Consultas, ordenes de S.M., y decisiones del Consejo, que hablan de la prohibicion general de navegar navíos extrangeros á ntras. Indias, comerciar y establecerse en ellas". Essentially the same document is contained in the Edward E. Ayer Collection in the Newberry Library, Chicago, in a bound MS. volume written by Joseph García de León y Pizarro, in conjunction with Fernando Mangino, and entitled: "Compendio Histórico y Cronológico, que demuestra el Descubrimiento del Mar del Sur, y delas Californias, hecho p<sup>r</sup>. los Españoles, y asimismo el Fundamento, que asiste á España, para excluir á todas las Naciones de la Navegacion delos Mares de Yndias, y de establecerse, y comerciar en ellas, consentido, y observado p<sup>r</sup>. sus Soberanos, y Gobiernos" (Madrid, 1790, 1796).

<sup>16</sup> Lea, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*.

<sup>17</sup> In a letter of November 1, 1582, Viceroy Suárez de Mendoza advises the king of information received from Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in London, regarding two English ships fitting out for a voyage to the Moluccas. A. de I., 58-3-9. In 1776 a resident of London, of Spanish ancestry, named Juan de Guzman y Mendoza, voluntarily sent a warning to a certain high colonial official, apparently the governor of the Philippines, advising him of the approaching departure for the Pacific of Cook's two ships, the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*. He declared that their intention, according to Cook's own confidential avowal to an intimate of both men, was the opening of trade with the west coast of North America, and the occupation of California to compensate England for the anticipated loss of its colonies then in rebellion. The letter is written in French, and dated February 15, 1776, A. de I., 105-4-5.

a port-of-call. Until after 1600 all such way-stations on the road to the Pacific, whether on the *camino de Indias* around the Cape of Good Hope, or on Magellan's old path around South America, were in Spanish or Portuguese hands. Except for the period of Dutch occupation in Brazil and the duration of Villegagnon's Huguenot settlements about Rio Bay, this condition remained true of the westward route into the South Sea until the end of the colonial regime of Spain and Portugal in South America. Gradually, the eastward route around Africa became marked with the way-stations of other powers which little heeded the remonstrances of Portugal at the violation of its monopoly. Of these peoples, the English, after their first enterprises among the great archipelago and their conflict with the Dutch, resigned themselves for a long time to the trade with the mainland of India, while the Dutch largely contented themselves with the resources of the East Indies proper. Consequently, the impulse of both to push on into the Pacific was greatly lessened, while the Spaniards steadily held firm in the Philippines against the efforts of the Dutch to break down that western bulwark of Spanish power in the South Sea, and only loosened their hold for a moment when assailed by the English in the latter eighteenth century. For the loss of the Philippines would have uncovered the coasts of America to aggressions from the west, and imperiled the route of the South Sea fleet from the ports of Peru to Panamá.

The hardships of an unbroken voyage into the Pacific made it most difficult to hold a crew together until the attainment of their objects might compensate them for their sufferings, for the long-continued trials were a supreme test of discipline and self-restraint. Even the most masterly leaders had to face discontent or open mutiny. The buccaneers, who entered the Pacific by the easier overland route across the isthmus, quickly fell into anarchy, and were only forced into successful co-operation by their common danger or lust for booty, save when they were dominated by some more ferocious will.

Although Spain secured the virtual incorporation of its pretensions in the Treaties of Westphalia, its strength was not in

reality proportionate to the task of maintaining such a colossal assumption the moment it should be seriously challenged by another power. During the age of Elizabeth and Philip II. the balance of naval strength shifted to the English and the Dutch. The old formulae of the papal demarcation and the *mare clausum* could henceforth have little force against interloping peoples who were "Lutherans" and who only respected such theories of possession as served their own ambitions for dominion and trade. In the face of this condition Spain could not adequately police the Pacific, and it left unprotected the three groups of islands that were so vital to the hostile armaments, once they had penetrated into the Pacific—Juan Fernandez, the turtle breeding Galápagos, and the Ladrones, where passing ships could always obtain provisions by one means or another from the small Spanish population on Guam.

The Spaniards did all possible to discourage trading across the Pacific to New Spain or Peru, for this would not only imperil Spanish shipping and compete with Spanish merchants in the colonial markets, but would constitute a serious political menace by the possible founding of establishments on the American coasts. They were as anxious to forbid trans-Pacific navigation to Orientals as to Europeans. A memorial drawn up in 1586 by the leading citizens of Manila declared among the advantages to be derived from the proposed conquest of China the prohibition of Chinese voyages to New Spain and Peru.<sup>18</sup> Nor was a Japanese voyage to Acapulco in the early part of the next century permitted to become a precedent. Before this—in 1590—a Portuguese merchant of Macao, Dom João da Gama, crossed to the Mexican coast with a large cargo to trade.<sup>19</sup> However, in spite of the fact that Portugal and Spain were then "united", da Gama's goods were confiscated, and he himself was sent to Seville to be tried by the *audiencia* of the *Casa de Contratacion*. Governor Gomez Perez Dasmarías protested to the king that such a direct trade between China and America

<sup>18</sup> Santiago de Vera and others to the Council of the Indies, July 26, 1586, Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, VI. 226.

<sup>19</sup> Viceroy Velasco to the King, July 28, 1591, A. de I., 58-3-11.

would be disastrous to the commercial interests of Manila.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, the enterprise of Dom João was no more welcome to Spain than had been that of Dom Vasco a century before.

More serious in its possible consequences was the trading voyage made by some Dutch and English ships to the Mexican coast in 1746.<sup>21</sup> This voyage had been preceded two years earlier by an attempt of the Dutch authorities on Java to secure the privilege of trading at Manila.<sup>22</sup> Denied the concession, they determined to open a direct trade from the orient with the Spanish American coasts, a traffic which would have offered the most serious competition to the Manila Galleon.<sup>23</sup> In order to insure a profitable market for the expedition, by preventing the departure of the year's *nao* from Manila, the Dutch governor at Batavia resorted to the ruse of warning the Spaniards of an intended attack by a British fleet under Admiral Barnet, then cruising in the East Indies.<sup>24</sup> Meanwhile four Dutch and two English ships cleared for the American coast with rich cargoes of oriental goods and an authorization to offer the viceroy of New Spain a large bribe for the right to trade with that region.<sup>25</sup> The two Dutch ships, which continued across the Pacific after the fleet had been dispersed by storms, disposed of their goods on the Guadalajara coast before the official prohibitions from Mexico could reach the authorities of those districts.<sup>26</sup> They penetrated the Gulf of California as far as Guaymas, and while reconnoitering the lower coast one of them sighted two Philippine galleons in the harbor of Acapulco. However, the

<sup>20</sup> Dasmariñas to the King, May 31, 1592, A. de I., 67-6-2.

<sup>21</sup> Pedro Calderón Henríques to the President of the Council of the Indies, July 16, 1746, B. and R., XLVII. 240. The Spanish documentary material on this subject is contained in legajo 68-6-27, A. de I., entitled: "Expediente sobre los dos navíos holandeses que desde Batavia fueron á comerciar á la Nueva España".

<sup>22</sup> Marqués del Puerto to the Dutch States-General, April 28, 1750, *ibid.* The Marqués del Puerto was the Spanish envoy sent to the United Provinces to protest against what Spain alleged to be violations of articles 5 and 6 of the Treaty of Munster, and, more especially, of articles 31 and 34 of the Treaty of Utrecht.

<sup>23</sup> Marqués del Puerto to the States-General, April 5, 1747, *ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> Carvajal y Lancaster to the King, September 8, 1747, *ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> The incumbency of the viceregal office by the Conde de Revillagigedo insured the failure of any attempt to corrupt the central government at Mexico.

<sup>26</sup> Revillagigedo to Ensenada, April 30, 1747, *ibid.*

Dutch do not seem to have repeated this attempt to trade with the west coast of New Spain.

The régime of exclusion was already drawing to a close, and it was only a few decades before the Russians began their voyages from Alaska down the California shore. Maritime ethics and customs were changing,<sup>27</sup> and the great pretension of Spain to the monopoly of the Pacific had been unmasked. Whatever remained of the old idea of the "Spanish lake" was dispelled by Anson, and the *Covadonga* was Spain's sacrifice to the inutility of a colossal presumption, which could not survive the broadsides of a single English frigate. The pernicious doctrine that one nation might dominate such an expanse of sea gave way before the rise of more liberal ideas on maritime rights, as well as before a display of naval force. In this regard Cook and his compeers did in the Pacific the work that Voltaire and the other French philosophers did in Europe. The advance up the coast to Alaska, attended with so much of the old heroism,<sup>28</sup> and the stand made at Nootka<sup>29</sup> were the final efforts of Spain in the

<sup>27</sup> Of course, the Polish adventurer, Benyowsky, who approached the route of the galleon from the north west, was, according to any code, an outlaw of the sea. Though he would have found in the galleon an alluring objective for his wild cruise, he was apparently ignorant of its existence. Among the extensive Benyowsky literature, see especially *Memorials and Travels of Mauritius Augustus Count de Benyowsky*, with an introduction, notes and bibliography by Captain S. Pasfield Oliver (London, 1904). There is some new material on the subject in "Expediente sobre varias actividades de Húngaros y Rusos en el Norte del Pacífico", A. de I., 107-1-18.

<sup>28</sup> The best summary of these voyages is given by Navarrete in *Expediciones en busca del paso del noroeste de la América* (Madrid, 1802), published as an introduction to the diary of the voyage made by the ships *Sutil* and *Mejicana*. "Una política prudente y sabio", said Navarrete, "dictó y dirigió estas empresas no solo por la conveniencia de nuestra continua navegación y tráfico con las Filipinas, sino porque sabiendo que los Rusos extendían sus establecimientos por toda aquella costa, no podía el gobierno desentenderse de la seguridad de sus colonias establecidas en ella, ni de sus preferentes derechos á tan dilatados países". *Ibid.*, p. CXLI. A translation of this work by Dr. Herbert I. Priestley, Assistant Curator of the Bancroft Library, of the University of California, is to appear in the *Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History*. For later accounts of the voyages see: Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast*, I.; Heawood, *A History of Geographical Discovery in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*.

<sup>29</sup> Manning, *The Nootka Sound Controversy*, Washington, 1904.

days of its belated revival to uphold what seemed tenable of its long-cherished dream.

From early times foreign navigators of various stamps had entered the Pacific in defiance of Spanish prohibitions. They were all bent on prey—all raiders of different categories of legality—whether privateers like Anson, buccaneers like Bartholomew Sharp, or great mariners like Drake, who had a doubtful authorization to plunder and to the Spaniards was as truly a “pirata” as was Coignet or Lionel Wafer. After the middle of the eighteenth century foreigners sailed about the Pacific at will, and they were men of a new stamp. Scientific explorers of the type of Cook and Vancouver, Bougainville, and La Perouse, could scarcely be classed with those outlaws from humanity who scourged the eastern edge of the Pacific in the later seventeenth century.

In the first years of the line no provision was made for the protection of the galleons beyond placing small arms in the hands of those on board. It was with such an armament that the *Santa Ana* tried to stand off Cavendish’s Englishmen in 1587. However, the shock caused by the incursions of Drake and Cavendish led to the adoption of more serious measures of defense. The report of Governor Vera to Philip II. in 1588 is indicative of the change already produced by the loss of the *Santa Ana*. “The ships are well supplied with artillery”, he said. “All the passengers have arquebuses, swords, and bucklers; the seamen carry at least a sword, and each ship is armed with pikes, partisans, large stores of powder and munitions, bombs and grenades.” A law of 1601, designed to prevent the practice of equipping the fortifications with artillery taken from the galleon, forbade the removal at Manila of guns mounted on the *nao* at Acapulco.<sup>30</sup> A decree of three years later required that each piece in the galleon’s battery should have a trained gunner.<sup>31</sup> A more general law of 1608 compelled the governor of the Philippines to see that the *naos* were provided “with

<sup>30</sup> *Leyes*, lib. 9, tit. 45, ley 23.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, ley 21. A law of 1624 assured to the gunners of the Manila Galleon the same privileges as were enjoyed by those in the *carrera de Indias*. *Ibid.*, ley 22.



the arms necessary for their defense, and that soldiers, crew, and passengers were well armed".<sup>32</sup> The ordinances of Governors Valdés and Arandia were more detailed in their provisions for keeping the galleons in an adequate state of defense.

However, in spite of the excellent cannon cast at Cavite, across from Manila, the galleons seldom sailed with a sufficient equipment of guns. For the sake of the additional lading space which the omission of the guns would permit those in charge were willing to risk the chances of attack. Whatever guns were carried were often stowed away in the hold, while the decks were piled high with bales and chests of merchandise. In case of a sudden attack under such circumstances as occurred with the *Santissima Trinidad*, a sixty gun ship that fought with but ten in position, the result for the galleon was calamitous. On the outward passage from Acapulco greater precautions were usually taken to prepare for emergencies. At this time the ship had also the advantage of the small arms of the re-enforcements on the way out to the islands.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, space was not then at such a premium for the accomodation of cargo, and the guns could be put into place without discommoding the mercantile interests in the galleon.

Convoys were seldom resorted to, unless the danger to the galleon was quite imminent.<sup>34</sup> Such a regular system of con-

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, ley 20.

<sup>33</sup> A cedula of December 31, 1604, ordered each galleon to carry fifty soldiers from Acapulco to Manila. Serving as marines, they were not only bound to defend the *nao* in case of need, but were sometimes added to the garrison at Manila, instead of accompanying the galleon on its return voyage. This precaution was neglected the moment the course was believed to be free from enemies. The King to Governor Silva, November 6, 1607, A. de I., 105-2-12. In 1753 the City of Manila complained of the governor's regulation for placing sixty-six marines on the galleon. They alleged that they were utterly unfit, and that they deserted at the first opportunity. City and Commerce to the King, July 18, 1753, A. de I., 68-6-50. The passengers were always expected to take part in the defense of the ship. Thus, Gemelli Careri's entry for Christmas Day, 1696, reads: "All persons had Muskets given them, to defend ourselves against Enemies that are often met with on the Coast of California". Churchill, *Voyages*, IV. 495.

<sup>34</sup> Miss Catherine Coman wrongly says: "Every Manila galleon must needs be attended by an armed frigate, a system of defence whose cost eventually ruined the Philippine trade" (*Economic Beginnings of the Far West*, I. 118). Savary de

voys, for example, as was employed in the navigation to Portobelo,<sup>35</sup> was never adopted, nor was anything like the *armada de Barlovento*, or Windward Fleet,<sup>36</sup> maintained. Save for the time of the Dutch wars, and that of the buccaneer-privateer inroads into the Pacific in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the menace was not chronic, as it was for long periods in the West Indies. Armed vessels were, however, occasionally sent up the coast of New Spain to escort the galleon past the dangerous tip of California and on into Acapulco harbor.<sup>37</sup> The governor of the Philippines likewise frequently despatched ships from Manila to meet the galleons from New Spain outside the islands, and accompany them through the straits and up to their anchorage before Cavite.<sup>38</sup> Sometimes advice-boats—usually small galleys or *pataches*—were sent out to warn the *nao* of enemies, and order it to change its course; or the galleon might carry orders from the viceroy to the same effect. In this case it generally followed the route around the north of Luzon, or put in at one of the bays on the east coast,

Bruslons made the same error: "On leur donne pour convoi une frégate de 28 canons" (*Dictionnaire de commerce*, IV. 1429). The burden of the *averta*, or convoy tax, was very severe in the case of the *flota-galeones* trade, but the Manila-Acapulco line was exempt from this imposition, except in extraordinary emergencies.

<sup>35</sup> *Leyes*, lib. 9, tits. 29, 36, *passim*.

<sup>36</sup> Veitia Linage, *Norte de la contratacion*, lib. 2, cap. 5.

<sup>37</sup> Churchill, *op. cit.*, p. 498. Casanate and Otondo, two men prominent in the history of Lower California, were charged with this duty in 1648 and 1685 respectively. Venegas, I. 193, 211. The famous Jesuit, Padre Kino, who accompanied Otondo on the latter occasion, describes the event in his *Favores celestiales*, lib. VIII., cap. 2.

On the appearance of foreign ships off the South American coast the alarm was spread to the northward as far as the district of the *Audiencia* of Guadalajara, whose jurisdiction included Lower California. Thus, in 1709, the viceroy ordered the latter authorities to find some means of warning the galleon of the proximity of English ships which had sacked Guayaquil, and were proceeding northward. Albuquerque to the King, October 31, 1709, A. de I., 61-1-30.

<sup>38</sup> Richard Cocks heard in Japan in July, 1615 that "Don Jno. de Silva was gon to keepe the straites with a gale and a phriggat, attending the coming of shipping from Agua Pulca" (*Diary*, I. 24). In 1686, when fears were entertained for the safety of the *San Telmo*, the governor armed the *Santo Niño* with over 100 cannon and 1,000 men, and sent it to the Embocadero to convoy the Acapulco ship to Cavite (Díaz, *Conquistas*, p. 784).

as Albay, where it could place its silver in safety.<sup>39</sup> A system of fire signals was also devised by the Jesuit, Francisco Colín, with the aid of which galleons were warned by fires built on outlying prominences of the eastern coasts.<sup>40</sup> A code was developed by varying the number of fires or the frequency of the puffs of smoke, in such a way as to indicate the course to be followed, or the strength and location of the enemy. Recourse was had to some such expedient on the American side, where signals were made from the Island of Cedros, which was usually the first landfall of the galleons, and also from salient points on the mainland coast. After the founding of the missions on the peninsula the Jesuits in charge were expected to advise the *naos* that put in there of any strange sail observed off that quarter of the coast.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Colín, *Labor evangélica*, I. 223.

<sup>40</sup> Murillo Velarde, *Historia*, f. 126b. This Colín was the author of the *Labor evangélica* just quoted.

<sup>41</sup> The above is a chapter from Dr. Schurz's doctoral dissertation *The Manila Galleon*, which is still unpublished in its entirety.

## THE ITATA INCIDENT

1. *The Baltimore Affair of 1891, which nearly provoked war between the United States and Chile, was the direct outcome of the anti-United States feeling in Chile, in the growth of which, the Itata Incident was a very important factor.*

On the night of October 16, 1891, a fight broke out in Valparaiso between a mob of Chileans and a number of American sailors from the U. S. S. *Baltimore* then stationed in the harbor of Valparaiso under the command of Captain W. S. Schley.<sup>1</sup> As a result of this encounter one American sailor was killed, one subsequently died from the injuries received, and seventeen were wounded, five of them seriously.<sup>2</sup> In the report of the affair made to our Minister in Chile, Mr. Patrick Egan, Captain Schley stated that he believed that

the assault was instigated by Chilean sailors recently discharged from the transports, together with the longshoremen, and that it was pre-meditated.<sup>3</sup>

A copy of this report reached the State Department via the Navy Department, and on October 23, Mr. Wharton, acting for Secretary of State Blaine, advised Mr. Egan that he should bring to the attention of the Chilean Government the fact that the event had

very deeply pained the people of the United States, not only by reason of the resulting death of one of our sailors and the pitiless wounding of others, but even more as an apparent expression of unfriendliness toward this Government [i.e. the United States] which might imperil the maintenance of amicable relations between the two countries.

<sup>1</sup> Executive Documents of the House of Representatives for the 1st Session of the 52nd Congress, 1891-2. Vol. 34, no. 91, p. 105 (no. 2954). Throughout this report this document will be referred to as House Doc., page number only being given.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116

It was further stated that

If the facts are as reported by Capt. Schley, this Government can not doubt that the Government of Chile will offer prompt and full reparation.<sup>4</sup>

Progress towards settlement was slowly made during November, it almost ceased in the early days of December,<sup>5</sup> and finally, on December 12, it came to a dead stop with the publication of a telegram from the Chilean Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sr. Matta, to the Chilean Minister at Washington, Sr. Don Pedro Montt, in which it was stated among other things that (referring to the actions of the United States representatives in Chile during the Civil War),

the instructions (recommending) impartiality and friendship have not been complied with, neither now nor before.

Proof of this is furnished by the demands of Balmaceda and the concessions made in June and July, *the whole Itata affair*, the *San Francisco* at Quintero, and the cable companies.<sup>6</sup>

and most striking of all,

The statement that the North American seamen were attacked in various localities at the same time is deliberately incorrect.<sup>7</sup>

In view "of the expectation that was held out of a withdrawal and suitable apology"<sup>8</sup> notice of "the palpable insults"<sup>9</sup> contained in this telegram was delayed<sup>10</sup> during the inauguration of the new President of Chile<sup>11</sup> and the formation of a cabinet with the members of which our Minister Mr. Egan had "excellent relations".<sup>12</sup> Two weeks, however, having passed without satisfaction being given, on January 17, 1892, Mr. Blaine wired that

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107-8

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172. Mr. Egan was then involved in disputes over his right to provide an asylum for political refugees.

<sup>6</sup> Italicized by the writer.

<sup>7</sup> House Doc. pp. 179-80

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 191

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187. This took place on December 26, 1891.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*

the desired withdrawal by President Montt of everything of a discourteous character should be done freely and in suitable terms by Chile.

The message closed with the statement,

He [Mr. Blaine] enjoins prompt action.<sup>13</sup>

The "prompt action" enjoined was not forthcoming, with the result that January 21, 1892, Secretary Blaine wired Minister Egan,

I am now directed by the President to say that if the offensive parts of the dispatch of the 11th of December are not at once withdrawn, and a suitable apology offered with the same publicity that was given to the offensive expressions, he will have no other course open to him except to terminate diplomatic relations with the Government of Chile.

On January 25, 1892, President Harrison sent<sup>14</sup> a message to Congress submitting the correspondence between the Government of the United States and the Government of Chile from the time of the breaking out of the revolution against President Balmaceda, in which the President stated:<sup>15</sup>

In submitting these papers to Congress for that grave and patriotic consideration which the questions involved demand, I desire to say that I am of the opinion that the demands made of Chile by this Government should be adhered to and enforced.<sup>16</sup>

"This message of the President was looked upon by the American people as the precursor of a virtual declaration of war by Congress and it looked as if little Chile was doomed. For months previous to the sending in of the message, the most active preparations had been carried on in the navy-yards, in the fitting out of the cruisers, and the air on all sides was filled with talk of war and, in some instances, disapprobation of such a great

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 191

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. III

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. XIII.

nation as the United States going to war with such a weak nation as Chile, and a sister Republic".<sup>17</sup>

Fortunately, however, matters failed to reach the crisis which was foreshadowed. On the same day that President Harrison submitted his message to Congress, Minister Egan wired a reply from the Chilean Government<sup>18</sup> which lessened the tension; on January 30, 1892, Secretary Blaine wired Egan that

In the President's belief, it will be easy to reach a full and honorable adjustment of all unsettled matters.<sup>19</sup>

The President's belief was justified. After long and rather tedious negotiations the matter was settled on September 1, 1892, when Minister Egan reported to Washington the receipt of bills of exchange for \$75,000, a sum which the Chilean Government turned over to the United States in reimbursement of the injuries done to the American sailors in the Valparaiso riot.<sup>20</sup>

The importance of the *Itata* Incident in bringing about the ill-feeling which resulted in the *Baltimore* Affair is clearly attested. Our naval officials in Chilean waters early noted this fact, and continued to stress it until the final settlement of the *Baltimore* Affair.<sup>21</sup> Minister Egan stated unqualifiedly that

Since the unfortunate incident of the *Itata* the young and unthinking element of those who were in opposition to the Government [i.e. Balmaceda] have had a bitter feeling against the United States.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Thomas Campbell-Copeland, *Harrison & Reid, their lives and Records* (New York, 1892), p. 197. For a longer account based on statements of Secretary Tracy, see William Eleroy Curtis, *Between the Andes and the Ocean* (Chicago, 1900), pp. 411-13.

<sup>18</sup> *Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, transmitted to Congress with the Annual Message of the President* (Washington, 1892), p. 309. This volume will be referred to as "For. Rel." page number only, being given.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 312.

<sup>20</sup> For. Rel., 1893, pp. 58-69.

<sup>21</sup> House Doc., pp. 251-3, 271-2, 290, 325-7, 388, 587. Robley D. Evans, *A Sailor's Log* (New York, 1911), p. 266.

<sup>22</sup> For. Rel., 1892, p. 163. See also House Doc. p. 77.

Numerous contemporary writers for newspapers and magazines brought out the same idea,<sup>23</sup> and it has been repeated by later writers regarding things Hispanic-American.<sup>24</sup> Of these last, Mr. John Bassett Moore, in his article "The Chilean Controversy" gives what is probably the clearest and best tempered statement.<sup>25</sup>

In the knowledge of the writer, no detailed treatment has ever been made of the *Itata* Incident. In many general accounts errors appear which, while in some cases not vital, are of such character that if American history is to be written accurately they should be corrected.<sup>26</sup> Finally, since the *Itata* Incident was a factor in an event which nearly brought us into war with Chile, an account of it should be of interest to all students of the history of the United States and Hispanic America.

2. *The Itata Incident was the result of an attempt on the part of the Chilean Congressional Party to secure, in the United States, the arms needed by them in the prosecution of their struggle with*

<sup>23</sup> George L. Dyer, in *California Illustrated Magazine*, I. (1892), 138. H. Perry, in *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, November 2, 1891. Letter of June 15 to the *New York Times*, reprinted in the *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, July 11, 1891.

<sup>24</sup> William Eleroy Curtis, *The United States and Foreign Powers*, New York, 1899, pp. 90-1; Davis Kirk Dewey, *National Problems*, "American Nation series", vol. 24, New York, 1907, p. 215.

<sup>25</sup> John Bassett Moore, "The Chilean Controversy", in *Political Science Quarterly* (1893) 469.

<sup>26</sup> Harry Thurston Peck, "Twenty years of the Republic—A Spirited Foreign Policy"—in *Bookman*, XXI. (1905), 369; William Eleroy Curtis, *Between the Andes and the Ocean*, p. 409; John Bassett Moore, *ut supra*, pp. 468-469. The *Americana* (New York, 1919), XV. 557; Davis Kirk Dewey, *ut supra* p. 215; Albert Bushnell Hart, *Practical Essays on American Government* (New York 1894), p. 110; Brigadier General G. G. Aston, C. B., *Letters on Amphibious Wars* (London, 1911), p. 13; Sir William Lairds Clowes, *Four Modern Naval Campaigns* (New York, 1902), pp. 150-152. It is impossible to quote here all the passages referring to the *Itata Incident*; the prevalent errors can best be illustrated by quoting one sentence from Prof. Hart's essay on "The Chilean Controversy". On page 110 of the above mentioned book he states: "This feeling rose to great excitement when it was announced that the *Itata*, a merchant steamer chartered by the Congressionalists, on May 6th, 1891, had slipped out of a California port with arms on board". The italics are by the writer of the present article. As will appear later, the *Itata* was not chartered but seized by the Congressionalists, it made its escape on May 6, not May 5, and the arms which played such a part in the affair, were not received by the *Itata* until either the 7th or 9th of May.



*President Balmaceda during the Chilean Civil War, January to September, 1891.*

Sr. Don José Manuel Balmaceda was installed as President of Chile on September 18, 1886, for a term of five years. Popular at first, it was not long before he encountered serious opposition. His political theories, which were based on a desire for a government by the masses, were opposed by the aristocracy, capitalists, and clergy.<sup>27</sup> His proposed reforms were aimed at the nepotism then prevalent in Chile and naturally were not received with favor by the governing class.<sup>28</sup> His expenditures on railroads, hospitals, schools, and other public works, were bitterly criticized.<sup>29</sup> Finally, his desire to secure for the Chileans themselves the benefits to be obtained from the development of their natural resources excited against him the ill-will of the foreign companies whose monetary gains would be affected by a policy of "Chile for the Chileans".<sup>30</sup>

Balmaceda was unmoved, however, by this storm of criticism, and, towards the end of his administration, in order to make certain that his policies would be carried out, took steps to secure the election of one of his followers.<sup>31</sup> By refusing to pass the estimates necessary for the continuance of the financial administration of the government, the opposition majority, during the last year of his term, attempted to force its will on Balmaceda.<sup>32</sup> The president met this move by closing the extraordinary session called in the latter months of 1890,<sup>33</sup> by refusing to call a new session, and by issuing, on January 1, 1891,

<sup>27</sup> *Saturday Review*, LXXI. (1891) 521-522.

<sup>28</sup> Anson Uriel Hancock, *A History of Chile* (Chicago, 1893), p. 330.

<sup>29</sup> Hancock, *ibid.*, p. 331; C. de Varigny, "La Guerre Civile au Chile", in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, CVIII. (1891) p. 409; "The Chilean Revolution" by an Old Resident, in *Contemporary Review*, LX. 127.

<sup>30</sup> Maurice H. Hervey, *Dark Days in Chile* (London, 1892), p. 105. For an excellent review of this book see, *Saturday Review* (1892), 732.

<sup>31</sup> Pedro Montt, *Exposition of the Illegal Acts of Ex-President Balmaceda* (Washington, 1891), p. 8; Ricardo L. Trumbull, "The Chilean Struggle for Liberty", in *Forum*, XI. (1891), 645; House Doc. p. 1.

<sup>32</sup> Hancock, *ut supra*, p. 336.

<sup>33</sup> House Doc., p. 3.

a manifesto declaring his intention to rule under the old estimates until the new elections due to take place that year could be held.<sup>34</sup>

The same day a rump parliament was formed which declared Balmaceda deposed;<sup>35</sup> on the 6th of January the navy was placed under the command of Don Jorge Montt;<sup>36</sup> on the 7th of January President Balmaceda declared that martial law existed;<sup>37</sup> and on the 8th day of January Chile was in a state of civil war. By the end of January, the congressional party had secured control of practically all the navy, while Balmaceda had retained the support of the army.<sup>38</sup>

The loyalty of the army to the president made it impossible for the congressional forces to make any headway in the southern part of Chile and in the vicinity of the capital, with the result that they turned their attention towards the north. Iquique, the center of the nitrate region, was occupied February 16. On March 7, the battle of Pozo Almonte gave them possession of all of Tarapacá. During the latter part of the month the province of Antofagasta was cleared of Balmacedists, Tacna was taken in April, and by the end of May, Atacama was in their power.<sup>39</sup>

At the close then of the nitrate campaign, the situation in Chile was as follows. Balmaceda was supreme, on the land, in the south. This supremacy availed him nothing, however, as regards putting down the uprising in the north because of the fact that the topography of the intervening country made it impossible to transport an army to the regions held by the congressional party without the support of sea forces,<sup>40</sup> and these Balmaceda did not have. On the other hand, although the congressional party had a navy, they did not have the arms and

<sup>34</sup> *Memorandum de la Revolución de 1891* (Santiago, 1892), pp. 7-25. This manifesto is translated in House Doc., pp. 5-15.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 25-30.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>38</sup> Hancock, *ut supra*, pp. 340-341; *Mem. de la Rev.* pp. 1-6.

<sup>39</sup> Pedro Montt, *ut supra*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>40</sup> Isaiah Bowman, *South America, a Geography Reader* (New York, 1915), pp. 120-121.

ammunition necessary for the equipment of an army which could drive Balmaceda and his forces out of the central and southern portion of Chile. The struggle thus resolved itself into a race. Balmaceda was striving to secure ships while the congressional party was attempting to purchase arms, success being assured to the side which should attain its desiderata first.<sup>41</sup>

In this race the congressional party really had the better of it. By getting control of the nitrate region they had deprived Balmaceda of his principal, and almost only source of revenue. The export duties were said to amount to approximately \$1,250,000 a month.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, inasmuch as they had control of the sea, and as long as they could keep it their problem was merely the matter of obtaining arms in foreign countries and transporting them to Iquique which they had made the center of their operations.

Accordingly then, Ricardo (*i.e.*, Richard) Trumbull was sent to the United States for the purpose of purchasing arms. This selection was a most happy one. Descendant of that Jonathan Trumbull who was the original "Brother Jonathan",<sup>43</sup> nephew of the well known middle westerner Lyman Trumbull,<sup>44</sup> a graduate of Yale College, thirty-one years of age,<sup>45</sup> speaking English like an Englishman<sup>46</sup> Trumbull proved himself worthy of the confidence which had been reposed in him. He arrived in New York, March 5, 1891, and immediately put himself in touch with the well-known firm of W. R. Grace & Co.<sup>47</sup> Through

<sup>41</sup> Aston, *ut supra*, p. 5.

<sup>42</sup> House Doc., p. 254.

<sup>43</sup> Hart, *ut supra*, p. 102.

<sup>44</sup> Information obtained in an interview with Mr. George Denis, counsel for the defendant in the case U. S. vs. Trumbull, 48 Fed. Rep. 99.

<sup>45</sup> Yale University Obituary Record, New Haven, June, 1894.

<sup>46</sup> See *Daily Alta California*, May 12, 1891.

<sup>47</sup> Luis Bafiados Espinoza, *Balmaceda—su gobierno y la revolución de 1891* (Paris, 1894), 407. The part which the firm of W. R. Grace & Co., played in the purchase of the arms and ammunition which were to become the cargo of the *Itata* still remains to be solved. The writer communicated with the company in quest of information and received a courteous reply on December 3, 1921, to the effect that neither the firm, nor Mr. W. R. Grace, assisted Ricardo A. Trumbull in the purchase of military supplies. However, the name of the firm appears everywhere that one looks for information regarding the purchase of the arms in

W. W. Reynolds of Hartley & Graham, 17 Maiden Lane, N. Y.<sup>48</sup> Trumbull purchased 2,000 cases of U. M. C. rifle ammunition, .43 caliber, 1,000 rounds per case, and 250 cases of rifles, part Remington and part Lee Magazine, .11 gauge, 200 to the case.<sup>49</sup> Arrangements were made by Trumbull with George A. Burt to ship the arms from New York to San Francisco or Oakland from which it was intended that they should be delivered to a steamer sent from Chile to transport the arms to Iquique.<sup>50</sup> This done, Trumbull advised the Junta in Iquique of the state

question. Sr. Bañados Espinoza, quoting from the "Exposición de Trumbull", which the writer has not been able to come upon as yet, says (translation), "William R. Grace, a man of great prestige, ex-mayor of New York, worked in the cause of the Constitutional Party with decision and enthusiasm for which we can never thank him enough" (p. 408). The *Daily Alta Californian* of May 7, published a telegram from the *Chicago Inter-ocean* which quoted its Washington correspondent as saying that it was supposed Trumbull bought his arms from W. R. Grace & Co. The *Los Angeles Times* of May 8, printed a dispatch from San Diego to the effect that the drafts presented to the local bank by the captain of the *Itata* were not cashed until communication had been made with W. R. Grace & Co., which firm replied that the drafts were good. On September 10, the *San Francisco Evening Bulletin* printed the following, "The *Star* (of Washington, D. C.) this afternoon prints a statement that the *Itata* is to be returned to Chile in accordance with terms of a compromise effected at a conference between ex-Mayor Grace of New York and the Chilean Congressional Representatives on the one hand, and Secretary Tracy and Attorney General Miller on the other". On October 9, a subpoena to appear as a witness on behalf of the United States government in the case of U. S. vs Trumbull was served on John W. Grace of Hanover Square, New York where are located the home offices of this Company (no. 242, United States District Court, Southern District of California, U. S. vs. Ricardo Trumbull, Papers in the case, Office of the Clerk of the District Clerk, Federal Bldg., Los Angeles, California.) The writer was permitted to examine the papers on file in the office of the District Clerk in Los Angeles. These papers will hereafter be referred to by the number of the case, title of the case, and the note "Papers in the Case"). Finally, on December 30, Minister Egan reported to Washington that the Chilean government, the Congressional Party of this report, had received from Grace & Co. information as to the intention of the United States Government to deliver an ultimatum (For. Rel., 1891, p. 284). In all probability the firm of W. R. Grace & Co., never permitted itself to have *official relations* with the representatives of the Congressional Party, but it may well be that *unofficially* members of the firm sympathized with the aims of the Congressional Party and furthered its interests.

<sup>48</sup> No. 242, U. S. vs Trumbull, Papers in the Case. Praecepta for witnesses.

<sup>49</sup> House Doc., p. 270.

<sup>50</sup> No. 242, U. S. vs Trumbull, Papers in the case, Praecepta for witnesses.

of affairs and received word that the *Itata* would set sail immediately.<sup>51</sup>

The *Itata*, built in England in 1873, was an iron steamer with screw propeller and compound engines, capable of making between nine and ten knots per hour.<sup>52</sup> It was the property of the Compañía Sud Americana de Vapores but had been taken over by the congressional party on January 16, in the harbor of Valparaíso.<sup>53</sup> The *Itata* left Arica bound for San Diego, California, April 8,<sup>54</sup> and arrived at its destination on May 3, 1891.<sup>55</sup>

The arrival of the steamer at San Diego excited some little comment, but when interviewed, the commanding officer, Captain Manzenn,<sup>56</sup> gave out a most innocuous story, well calculated to allay the suspicions of any hearer. As reported in the newspapers<sup>57</sup> he stated that the *Itata*, hailing from Iquique had put into San Diego for provisions and possibly coal. He was bound for San Francisco with a full complement of passengers and some merchandise. The ship was owned by W. R. Grace & Co.,<sup>58</sup> under whose orders it had come to San Diego, and, on leaving San Francisco, the intention was to go to Vancouver where the ship would lay up for repairs.<sup>59</sup>

On May 4, the harbor authorities gave the *Itata* the right to take on ballast, cargo, and coal,<sup>60</sup> and during that day and the

<sup>51</sup> Bañados Espinoza, *ut supra*, II. 408.

<sup>52</sup> *Daily Alta Californian*, May 11, 1891.

<sup>53</sup> No. 248, U. S., vs. *Itata*, Papers in the case, Government Exhibit A.

<sup>54</sup> *Mem. de la Rev.*, p. 148.

<sup>55</sup> Bañados Espinoza, *ut supra*, II. 408.

<sup>56</sup> This name appears with various spellings. That adopted is the one used by Captain Tejeda of the *Itata*, the actual commander of the steamer (Captain Manzenn being only the dummy commander), in his "Parte", *Mem. de la Rev.*, p. 407.

<sup>57</sup> *Daily Alta Californian*, May 5, 1891.

<sup>58</sup> This statement was immediately denied by W. R. Grace & Co. who gave out the information that they were merely the agents for the Compañía Sud-Americana de Vapores, the real owners of the *Itata*.

<sup>59</sup> The Report and Manifest of the *Itata*, as received at the office of the Collector of the Port of San Diego, stated that the *Itata* was bound for Victoria, via San Francisco, with a cargo and stores valued at \$10,163.85. (No. 242, U. S. vs Trumbull, Papers in the case, Government Exhibit, No. 8.)

<sup>60</sup> No. 248, U. S. vs *Itata*, Papers in the case, Government Exhibit No. 1.

next the ship's crew went merrily about their tasks. The work of loading supplies and of coaling progressed to such an extent that it seemed the *Itata* would be ready to leave the evening of the 5th or the morning of the 6th. The captain's plans, however, were badly disarranged by the visit of the United States marshall, Major George R. Gard, on the evening of May 5; as a result of this visit the captain and the vessel were placed under arrest, and a deputy left on board to retain possession of the *Itata* in behalf of the United States authorities.<sup>61</sup>

The seizure of the *Itata* marks the beginning of what may be called the "*Itata* Incident".

3. *The detention of the Itata was ordered by the United States Attorney General as a result of the allegations made by the Balmaceda representative in Washington to the effect that the Itata was in American waters for the purpose of committing acts which would constitute a breach of the United States neutrality laws.*

Shortly after the arrival of Mr. Trumbull in the United States, the Balmaceda representative in Washington, Sr. Don Prudencio Lazcano, approached Mr. Blaine, then secretary of state, with the information that the Balmaceda Government had issued a decree prohibiting the import into Chile of arms and ammunition, stating that he was especially moved to make this communication because of

the arrival in New York of an agent of the Chilean insurrectionary force for the purpose of purchasing in this country, arms and munitions of war to maintain the rebellion in Chile.<sup>62</sup>

Mr. Lazcano, however, lost the first round of the fight which he started to prevent the shipping of munitions to Chile. Mr. Blaine answered him to the effect that our laws did not prohibit the export of arms in accordance with international law, and further advised him that our laws were put in force upon application to the courts invested with power to enforce them.<sup>63</sup>

But this rebuff did not deter the tenacious Mr. Lazcano.

<sup>61</sup> *Daily Alta Californian*, May 6, 1891.

<sup>62</sup> *For. Rel*, 1892, p. 314.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 311-315.

Through detectives he found out the plans of the congressional party to ship the arms and ammunition to California, and with the efficient aid of Mr. John W. Foster, who was retained as counsel by the Balmacedist party, he returned anew to the fight.<sup>64</sup>

In the meantime, the arms in question had been shipped to Oakland, where on April 21,<sup>65</sup> they were loaded on a schooner called the *Robert & Minnie* which had been in the coasting trade, habitually running between San Francisco and Humboldt.<sup>66</sup> As it sailed under a coasting license, the *Robert & Minnie* was free to go and come between American ports without entering its manifest; there was, therefore, no reason for the harbor authorities in San Francisco to pay any especial attention to its cargo. The loading was done in broad daylight at the Oakland mole.<sup>67</sup> On May 23, the captain of the vessel signed a receipt for the cargo

to be delivered at such port on the southern coast of California, U. S. A. as may be designated by charterers' agents,<sup>68</sup>

and at 6:00 A.M., towed by the *Vigilant*, the *Robert & Minnie* started for the neighborhood of Catalina Island. Previous to its departure, the customs officials had seemed suspicious of the actions of the *Robert & Minnie*, but they did nothing to hinder its departure.<sup>69</sup>

As soon as Mr. Lazcano heard of the plan to ship the arms from San Francisco on the *Robert & Minnie*, he went to the State Department asking that through the proper legal channels the cargo should be detained.<sup>70</sup> In the meantime, the *Robert & Minnie*, which had been hovering around Catalina, was boarded by customs officials from Wilmington, who reported to Washington that the schooner was loaded with Remington rifles and cartridges in charge of a man named "Brush" (really Burt) who

<sup>64</sup> John W. Foster, *Diplomatic Memoirs* (New York, 1909), II: 289.

<sup>65</sup> 47 Fed. Rep. 85.

<sup>66</sup> *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, May 8, 1921.

<sup>67</sup> *Daily Alta Californian*, May 11, 1891.

<sup>68</sup> No. 242, U. S. vs Trumbull, Papers in the case, Government Exhibit No 7.

<sup>69</sup> *Daily Alta Californian*, May 11, 1891.

<sup>70</sup> Bañados Espinoza, *ut supra*, II. 409.

refused to say for whom the arms were destined.<sup>71</sup> Nothing was done by them, however, for they were advised the same day, May 2, that there was no reason for interference in the transfer of arms from the *Robert & Minnie* to a transport for reshipment.<sup>72</sup>

The agitation of Mr. Lazcano in Washington began to bear fruit on May 4. A long wire to the United States district attorney in Los Angeles, Mr. Willoughby Cole, gave him the facts as they had been outlined to the State Department by Mr. Lazcano and ordered him to prevent the sailing of the *Robert & Minnie* from Wilmington and to investigate fully.<sup>73</sup>

At this point the hand of Mr. Lazcano's *deus ex machina*, John W. Foster, first appears openly. He sent Judge A. Brunson of Los Angeles a request to cooperate with the district attorney respecting the detention of the vessel and arms destined for the Chilean insurgents,<sup>74</sup> following this wire with another the next day, stating

Insurgents steamer *Itata* subject to seizure under section 4297, see 25 Fed. Rep. Important detain by legal proceeding even if eventually defeated. Attorney General will not object.<sup>75</sup>

Before the orders as to the detention of the *Itata* reached Mr. Cole, the *Robert & Minnie* had left the vicinity of Catalina Island. Accordingly May 4, Attorney General W. H. Miller wired Cole:

Am advised Schooner *Robert & Minnie* has left Wilmington and that insurgent war vessel has come into San Diego. Probably the two are to meet. Have Marshal at San Diego watch schooner and detain her;<sup>76</sup>

<sup>71</sup> *Daily Alta Californian*, May 3, 1891.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> For the preparation of this article the writer was so fortunate as to receive the kind assistance of Mr. Seward Cole, of Los Angeles, who very generously made available the use of a file of papers relating to the *Itata* incident which had been preserved among his brother's effects. Documents thus made use of will be referred to as "Cole Papers". See *Daily Alta Californian*, May 7, 1891.

<sup>74</sup> Cole papers,

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.* This information was probably given to the attorney general by Mr. Lazcano orally, for his written communication as published in *For. Rel.*, 1892, p. 316, bears the date of May 5.



to which Cole replied the next day:

Best way to secure schooner *Robert & Minnie* is to detain steamer *Itata*. Shall it be done? Please telegraph me authority to go to San Diego.<sup>77</sup>

Not wishing to leave any stone unturned, Mr. Lazcano evidently took the matter up with the Treasury Department also for on the morning of May 5, the collector of customs at San Diego received orders to detain the *Robert & Minnie*, and watch the *Itata*, followed by another message in the afternoon ordering the detention of both ships.<sup>78</sup>

In the meantime, Judge Brunson must have taken the matter up with Mr. Cole for at 12:30, on May 5, Marshal Gard in San Diego received a message from Los Angeles signed by Frank Flint,<sup>79</sup>

Be prepared to seize the *Itata* within the next hour or two. Brunson acting with the United States Attorney advises this upon information from Washington and by consent of the Attorney General.<sup>80</sup>

confirmation of which from Cole was received by the marshal at 12:56.<sup>81</sup>

Later on in the day, Mr. Cole evidently became fearful that the information which had come through Mr. Foster might not be authoritative for at 1:28 a message reached San Diego addressed to Marshal Gard,

Don't seize steamer *Itata* unless necessary to prevent leaving port.<sup>82</sup>

This message came too late for the purpose. That afternoon Marshal Gard wired Cole:

Pursuant to your previous orders I seized the Chilian Steamer *Itata*, and placed deputy in charge and all ready to start with tug for *Robert &*

<sup>77</sup> Cole papers.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> Frank P. Flint, later senator from California, was a clerk in the office of the United States Marshal, Los Angeles, Cal., 1888-1892. (*Who's Who in America*, 1920-21, p. 971.)

<sup>80</sup> No. 242, U. S. vs Trumbull, Papers in the case, Government Exhibit No. 2

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.* Government Exhibit, No. 3.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.* Government Exhibit, No. 1

*Minnie* when received your telegram to await further orders. Have not released nor disclosed your telegram to Captain. Must have positive instructions before twelve to-morrow or will release ship and she will sail. Instruct me promptly. Delay is dangerous.<sup>83</sup>

Cole replied, still advising delay until he could hear further from Washington.<sup>84</sup> He also wired Washington for definite instructions as to the seizure of the *Itata*.<sup>85</sup>

Later Cole decided to go to San Diego without waiting for instructions from Washington, which he did, and there the next morning received the following wire from Mr. Miller, dated May 6,

Of course go to San Diego. My information is that the *Etata* and *Robert & Minnie* are acting [in] concert with a view to hostilities against the Government of Chile, that the *Etata* is to take from the *Robert & Minnie* its cargo of arms and munitions. Detain and libel both vessels and especially the cargo of arms and munitions.<sup>86</sup>

During the afternoon of May 5th both Marshal Gard and Customs Officer Berry had gone in search of the *Robert & Minnie* but without success.<sup>87</sup>

The morning of the 6th, Gard received orders direct from Miller to detain the "*Etata*" and seize the *Robert & Minnie*.<sup>88</sup> The attorney general at this time evidently began to be worried as to the legal aspects of the question, for in the above message information was solicited as to the kind of flag which the *Itata* was flying, and in the afternoon two messages were received by the marshal advising him not to use force in the seizure of the *Robert & Minnie*, and not to "attempt seizure outside our league limit".<sup>89</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Cole papers.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> *Daily Alta Californian*, May 6, 1891.

<sup>88</sup> No. 242 U. S. vs Trumbull, Papers in the case, Government Exhibit, No. 4.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

The loading of supplies on the *Itata*, as mentioned above was carried on rapidly during the 5th and 6th.<sup>90</sup>

About 4:00 on the afternoon of the 6th, Marshal Gard went on another fruitless chase of the *Robert & Minnie* which immediately went into Mexican waters. Scarcely had the marshal's tug left the harbor when the *Itata* weighed anchor and at 5:00 quietly steamed out of the bay. In a short time it disappeared, apparently headed north.<sup>91</sup> With the escape of the *Itata* a new phase of the *Itata* Incident came into being.

4. *The escape of the Itata was considered an affront to the dignity of the United States, an affront which was finally removed by the peaceful delivery of the Itata into the custody of the United States cruiser Charleston which had unsuccessfully given chase to it, and its return, together with its cargo, to the port of San Diego.*

On the evening of May 6, Mr. Cole sent the unwelcome news to the attorney general.

Gard has left on tug to bring in *Robert & Minnie*. The *Itata* although seized sailed shortly after Gard left.<sup>92</sup>

As is to be expected, on the morning of the 7th, the papers of the country were full of accounts regarding the escape of the *Itata*. The deputy marshal who had been placed on board the *Itata* was put ashore at Ballast Point by the captain of the *Itata* shortly after the latter left the bay. From this point, he succeeded in reaching San Diego the evening of the escape. He was eagerly interviewed by the representatives of the press, and the story he told showed that when the government acquired Mr. Spaulding for deputy marshal, the literary world lost a prime romancer:

Deputy Spaulding says the first intimation he had of the vessel's preparations to leave was hasty movements on the part of the crew, and when the captain invited him to his cabin from the dining-room,

<sup>90</sup> These consisted of 40 head of cattle, 25 head of sheep, 3,000 lbs. dressed meat and 800 tons of coal, the last named from Spreckels' bunkers. See *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, May 6, 1891.

<sup>91</sup> *Daily Alta Californian* May 7, 1891.

<sup>92</sup> Cole Papers.

he was surprised to find the steamer under full headway. He then made the following statements:

"Going into the captain's cabin, I was joined by three passengers. They exhibited revolvers and asked me if I was armed, Capt. Manzeum acting as spokesman. He then said, 'I have contraband goods on board and it is life or death with me.' I was so dumfounded that I could not answer. He then called two of the Chilean crew and they stood guard near the door, each armed with revolvers and a rifle. He then told me not to be alarmed, but that if I went out of the cabin during his absence he would not be responsible for what would happen. He told me also that if I attempted to give a sign or to jump overboard he would not be responsible for the result.

"About this time I noticed them lifting out of the hold four small steel cannons which they immediately after placed in position on the upper deck, three of them on the forward part of the vessel and one aft. All four of which guns they loaded in my presence. The captain then stated that he intended putting me off at Ballast Point. He then led me out of the cabin followed by his companions, each taking their revolvers.

"On reaching the bridge I found on the deck below 100 Chileans, all armed to the teeth, each having a repeating rifle and revolver, dressed in a uniform consisting of red cap and jackets.

"The captain laughed and said: 'See, we have changed to a man-of-war.' I looked at the pilot and said, 'Are you going to guide the ship out?' The captain spoke up and said: 'No,' (exhibiting a revolver), 'this is going to guide it.'

"By this time we were nearing the entrance to the harbor, and the captain gave orders to the crew to put over a ladder, which he escorted me to and said, 'You must excuse me for putting you to this annoyance, as I am not in command of this ship.' The *Itata* then passed out of the bay, heading north."

Another version of the escape of the *Itata* was sent out from San Diego at the same time, a version which later events proved to be more near the truth than that given by the romancing deputy marshal.

The story about cannon and small arms aboard the *Itata*, also about Pilot Dill's standing at the helm between armed men is moonshine. The *Itata* was searched by the customs' officers and had no arms or

armament except the small guns usual for firing signals. Pilot Dill was aboard voluntarily and by prearrangement. Spencer (i.e. Spaulding) was put off in the pilot boat at the entrance to the harbor.

Marshal Gard wants to make it appear that the *Itata* was formidable so as to let himself down easy for permitting her to escape. He claimed to have orders to detain her by any means, yet allowed her to lie in the stream two days with steam up, and did nothing either to draw her fires or tie up her machinery. He drank champagne with her captain. The Marshal is a butt of ridicule here for talking so loud about what he was authorized to do to detain the *Itata* and then doing nothing but put a man aboard to

### PLAY BEAN POKER

and drink fine wines while the Marshal himself steamed around the bay and outside the heads in an old tug that couldn't make over five miles an hour with four soldiers from the barracks to defend him and a lot of newspaper men to exploit his wonderful official achievements.

The *Itata* no doubt went to San Clemente.<sup>83</sup>

On May 7, Mr. Cole sent a long wire to Mr. Miller giving him the main details of Deputy Spaulding's account and suggesting that the *Charleston* which was then at San Francisco and the *Omaha* which had just arrived at San Diego from Acapulco, be sent to apprehend the fleeing *Itata*.<sup>84</sup>

On the 8th of May the papers were still full of the story of the escape of the *Itata* and although the attorney general refused to indicate what steps had been taken since the escape of the two vessels, it was generally felt that the *Itata* would be captured if possible. As the *Itata* had been seized by the United States it was held that it was technically United States property until discharged, and was therefore liable to recapture on the high seas by a United States man-of-war, or to confiscation if it ever entered a United States port. The case of the *Alabama* was still fresh in the minds of international lawyers and it was feared that the Chilean government might hold the United States liable for lack of diligence in the enforcement of its neutrality

<sup>83</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, May 8, 1891.

<sup>84</sup> Cole Papers.

laws if the *Itata* should succeed in delivering its cargo of arms and ammunition to the congressional party.<sup>96</sup> Word was received from Valparaiso that the *Itata* had been taken by force from its rightful owners,<sup>97</sup> and it was thought that this statement would be useful in attempting to fasten the crime of piracy upon the *Itata*.<sup>97</sup> Deserters from the *Itata* were found in San Diego and from them it was discovered that the *Itata* had been escorted on its trip north as far as Cape San Lucas by the congressional warship *Esmeralda*. At Cape San Lucas, the captain and a number of the crew of the *Esmeralda*, together with a few arms, had been transferred to the *Itata*<sup>98</sup> and this it was thought could substantiate the opinion that the *Itata* should be classed as a transport. Finally, it was categorically stated by the papers that the *Charleston* had orders to sail immediately in pursuit of the runaway.<sup>99</sup>

In spite of the newspapers, the *Charleston* did not sail on the 8th, due it was said to the countermanding of the orders on receipt of advices from Admiral McCann, the officer in command of the United States warships then in Chilean waters.<sup>100</sup> The papers, however, did not lack for news; on the evening of the 9th the *Robert & Minnie* put in near San Pedro to land Pilot Dill. She was sighted by Deputy Marshal Anderson who collected a posse and gave chase in the tug *Falcon*. The schooner was overhauled and brought to San Pedro where it was tied up to the wharf. The pilot and George Burt were placed under arrest but refused to say anything. It was found, nevertheless, that there was not a cartridge or rifle aboard the *Robert & Minnie* and it was thus known that the vessel had either unloaded its cargo at a point on some island where it could be picked up by the *Itata*, or else had transhipped it directly to the *Itata*, in which case the latter, by this time, would be bowling along on its way towards Iquique.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>96</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, May 8, 1891.

<sup>96</sup> For. Rel., 1892, p. 122.

<sup>97</sup> *San Francisco Evening Bulletin* June 9, 1891.

<sup>98</sup> *Daily Alta Californian*, May 8, 1891; 48 Fed. Rep. 101.

<sup>99</sup> *Daily Alta Californian*, May 8, 1891.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, May 9, 1891.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, May 10, 1891.

In the meantime the legal difficulties involved in the recapture of the *Itata* were giving the government food for thought. These were neatly summed up by Chief Justice William Howard Taft, then solicitor general, who had been summoned to San Diego by the illness of his father, in three questions which, Yankee-like, he put to the reporter who was interviewing him. "1. The *Itata* surely violated the law when she sailed, but, can a United States man-of-war recapture her? 2. Was the United States Deputy Marshal remiss in his duties in allowing the vessel to remain in the bay under full steam? 3. If the *Itata's* papers were in good form, should the Collector of Customs have investigated for the presence of arms?"<sup>102</sup> To add to the puzzlement of the public it was reported that while Attorney General Miller and Secretary Tracy of the navy department both thought the *Itata* could be recaptured, the rest of the administration did not think so.<sup>103</sup> It was further reported that the navy department was not exercising itself for the recapture of the *Itata*. The hope was expressed that the *Itata* did not start for Chile. It appeared to Washington, according to the newspapers, that the *Itata* did not receive the arms from the *Robert & Minnie* and the report was prevalent that the *Itata* had gone north; it was generally believed, however, that it was lurking near San Diego.<sup>104</sup>

Not till the 11th of May did the authorities at Washington give out any definite information as to what had been planned. Mr. Raymond, secretary to Mr. Tracy, advised the press then that orders had been sent the *Charleston* and the vessels in South Pacific waters to overtake and seize the *Itata* wherever it might be found. Further details could not be obtained and the newspapers were left to draw upon the imagination, which, it goes without saying, was done in characteristic American fashion.<sup>105</sup>

As an actual fact, these instructions were sent out May 8 and 9.<sup>106</sup> Captain Remy, of the *Charleston*, received his orders,

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, May 9, 1891.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, May 10, 1891.

<sup>105</sup> *Los Angeles Examiner*, May 11, 1891.

<sup>106</sup> House Doc., p. 250.

which were substantially the same as was announced to the press, at 7:30 P.M. of the 8th. They were deciphered by midnight and the next morning at 4:45 pursuit was commenced. Captain Remy was hindered by fog off Point Concepcion with the result that he did not reach San Pedro till 8:00 of the evening of the 10th.<sup>107</sup>

At San Pedro, Captain Remy learned from the commander of the *Omaha* that the *Robert & Minnie* had been seized; since, therefore, that part of his instructions regarding the capture of the schooner was now null, he left the next morning for Acapulco. He hoped that inasmuch as the *Esmeralda* was expected at Acapulco to join the *Itata*, he could head the *Itata* off before the two ships could effect a junction. At noon of the 11th,<sup>108</sup> the *Charleston* was reported passing Coronado and late that night the S. S. *Crescent City*, which arrived at San Diego on the 12th, reported having spoken the *Charleston* the previous evening about ten miles below Ensenada.<sup>109</sup>

For the next five days both the *Itata* and the *Charleston* were lost to the world; consequently, Dame Rumor was called upon to supply the lack of news. Right nobly did she respond to the obligations thrust upon her. Washington reported on the 13th that the *Esmeralda* was at Acapulco and thereupon much concern was manifested as to whether or not a quasi-recognition would be granted the congressional party. This worry was put to rest by a dispatch from Mexico City to the effect that steps had been taken so that when and if the *Itata* should reach any Mexican port it would not be allowed to land. At the same time, Mexico City learned that the *Itata* was sailing under diffi-

<sup>107</sup> House Doc., pp. 255-256. In the cable sent by Captain Remy to the Navy Department there is a conflict of dates. He states in one place that he arrived at San Pedro on the 9th, in another, on the 10th. The latter agrees with the time necessary to cover the distance between San Francisco and San Pedro, especially as he says he was delayed by fog, and also investigated the anchorages near the different islands on the way down. This date also coincides with the newspaper accounts. See *Daily Alta Californian*, May 11, 1891.

<sup>108</sup> *Daily Alta Californian*, May 12, 1891.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, May 13, 1891. Ensenada is a bay in the upper part of Lower California, just south of Lat. 32°N.



culties, that the *Charleston* was gaining on it, and that it was expected that the two ships would reach Acapulco within a few hours of each other.<sup>110</sup>

This news gave rise to a number of interesting questions. If the *Charleston* were to overtake the *Itata* could it sink that vessel as a pirate on the ground that the *Itata's* flag represented no constituted authority?<sup>111</sup> There was doubt as to the extent of the *Itata's* crime; it was not certain whether or not it took on arms at all, and if so, whether they were shipped within the territory of the United States. At the same time, arguments began to arise as to the relative fighting abilities of the *Esmeralda* and the *Charleston*, arguments which the Secretary of the Navy attempted to quash by a statement to the effect that there was no doubt of the *Charleston's* being able to take care of itself.<sup>112</sup>

On the 13th, the report came from Washington that the *Itata* would be seized, not as a pirate but for violation of the customs' laws, disregard of the court, and perhaps for kidnapping. If the *Itata* should beat the *Charleston* to Acapulco, it was expected that the latter would wait outside the harbor until the twenty-four hours allowed by international law should elapse and then capture the *Itata* as it emerged. At the same time wild rumors started coming from Mexico City to the effect that the *Itata* had been sunk; on the 14th, the *Anglo-American* of Mexico City printed a special message from San Blas repeating the story.

On the 16th, the *Charleston* was finally heard from. It reached Acapulco at 6:00 that morning, two hours ahead of the *Esmeralda*. Nothing, however, had been heard of the *Itata*, although the general opinion seemed to be that it had gone south. Captain Remy also gave it as his belief that the *Esmeralda*, if conveying the *Itata* would not surrender it without a fight.<sup>113</sup>

The *Charleston* finished coaling on the 17th, and that evening

<sup>110</sup> *Daily Alta Californian*, May 13, 1891.

<sup>111</sup> *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, May 12, 1891.

<sup>112</sup> *Daily Alta Californian*, May 13, 1891.

<sup>113</sup> House Doc., pp. 255-6.

started south, leaving the *Esmeralda* in port.<sup>114</sup> Orders had been sent to Captain Remy to try Panama and then watch off Arica.<sup>115</sup> Nothing further was heard from the *Charleston* until May 27, when Captain Remy reported his arrival at Callao, Peru.<sup>116</sup> From thence he sailed to Arica and on June 4, by order of Admiral McCann, the *Charleston* arrived in Iquique.<sup>117</sup> without having seen, or, much less, having captured the *Itata*. Thus ingloriously ended the celebrated "Chase of the *Itata*".

And just as inglorious, from the standpoint of military glamor, was the final return of the *Charleston* and the *Itata* to the port from which the latter had stolen away the evening of May 6.

After putting the deputy marshal ashore at Point Ballast, the *Itata* had proceeded to a point near San Clemente Island previously agreed upon with the *Robert & Minnie*. On the 9th day of May the *Itata* and the *Robert & Minnie* came together about a mile and a half southerly of San Clemente, some forty miles off the coast.<sup>118</sup> There the arms and ammunition bought by Mr. Trumbull were taken from the schooner and put on board the *Itata* in their original packages and the *Itata* left at once for Chile.<sup>119</sup>

Its engines and boilers were in bad shape and its shaft was much out of line; consequently the *Itata* could not make much more than seven knots an hour.<sup>120</sup> Its chronometer was a great deal out.<sup>121</sup> As a result when it hit the Chilean coast at Tocopilla on June 3, the captain did not know what part of the coast he was going to strike. In order to avoid any possibility of

<sup>114</sup> *Daily Alta Californian*, May 19, 1891.

<sup>115</sup> House Doc., p. 253.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 263.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 267.

<sup>118</sup> For. Rel. 1892, p. 317.

<sup>119</sup> 48 Fed. Rep. 102. A clean receipt for the delivery of the cargo was signed by George Burt on May 7, at "Southeast Harbor", San Clemente Island, U. S. A. No. 242, U. S. vs. Trumbull, Papers in the case, Government Exhibit No. 7.

<sup>120</sup> House Doc., p. 267.

<sup>121</sup> Sir William Laird Clowes says (p. 151, *supra cit.*), "Her captain, who had let his chronometer run down and had lost his charts, had to navigate by dead reckoning and a general chart of the coast." His account is, however, so full of errors that one is at a loss to know what to believe.

meeting with Balmaceda's ships the *Itata* had followed a course a considerable distance out from shore all the way down.<sup>122</sup> This explains the fact that no other vessel spoke it during the whole trip. Under the circumstances the captain proved himself to be a most skillful navigator and it can well be realized what his chagrin and disappointment must have been when he reached Iquique and learned that all his efforts had been in vain.

On May 10, Admiral Brown, who had been ordered south to relieve Admiral McCann of the command of the United States ships in South Pacific waters,<sup>123</sup> arrived at Iquique and immediately paid his respects to the head of the congressional government. As a result of this interview,<sup>124</sup> on May 13, he received the following communication from the Congressional Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Iquique, May 13, 1891.

The Provisional Government has learned by telegram of the Associated Press that the transport *Itata*, detained at San Diego, California, by order of the United States Government for taking aboard munitions of war, and being in custody of the United States marshal left port carrying that officer, who was landed at a point upon the coast, and continued the voyage. The Government has ascertained nothing respecting any act of the *Itata* since San Diego. If the news be correct, this Government would deplore the conduct of the *Itata* and as an evidence that it is not disposed to support or acknowledge an infraction of the United States law, the subscriber takes advantage of the personal relation you have been good enough to maintain with him since your arrival, to declare to you that as soon as the *Itata* is within reach of orders, this Government will place her, with munitions of war taken aboard at San Diego, at the disposition of the United States through the worthy agency of yourself, in order that the United States laws, interrupted at San Diego may follow their course.

I have the honor to subscribe myself, the Chilean minister of foreign affairs,

"Isidoro Errazuriz."<sup>125</sup>

<sup>122</sup> No. 248, U. S. vs *Itata*. Papers in the case, Deposition of Ira M. Hollis.

<sup>123</sup> House Doc., p. 261.

<sup>124</sup> *Mem. de la Rev.*, p. 192.

<sup>125</sup> House Doc., pp. 253-254.

With this as a start negotiations were carried to a successful conclusion. On May 16, Admiral Brown was placed at liberty to state

unofficially and informally that if the *Itata* is restored to the custody of the United States marshal, with the arms and munitions of war received from the schooner *Robert & Minnie*, it will entirely relieve the present situation.<sup>126</sup>

At the same time the orders as to the seizure of the *Itata* were changed to read,

If *Itata* is found in the territorial waters of any government except Chile, do not seize, but watch and telegraph Department.

The United States authorities, however, took no chances; the *Charleston* was ordered to follow the *Esmeralda* and see that no transfer of arms was made from the *Itata* to the *Esmeralda* and Admiral McCann was ordered to remain in the waters of northern Chile with the *Pensacola* until the return of the *Itata* was definitely assured.<sup>127</sup> On the 17th, Admiral Brown, having received written assurance from the congressional government that the *Itata* would be returned, wired the navy department that he considered the orders respecting the chase of the *Itata* revoked.<sup>128</sup> Confirmation of this policy was immediately received by him, together with the statement:

Department expects you will see that the *Itata* is returned to custody of court at San Diego with everything on board. The method and manner are left to your discretion.<sup>129</sup>

During the next few days the news of the negotiations began to leak out in the newspapers. Unfortunately, they were not entirely consonant with the facts of the case; one statement was to the effect that it was expected the *Itata* would be allowed to unload before its surrender. This bit of news excited some un-

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 255.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 257.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 258.

easiness in the minds of the authorities at Washington and on May 21, Mr. Tracy wired McCann:

A report comes from the Congressional Agents in Paris that the ship only is to be given up and not the arms. This is contrary to promises reported and Admiral McCann is instructed to guard against such a breach of faith.<sup>130</sup>

To this McCann replied that

the insurgents promise that if the *Itata* comes within their control she will be ordered to Iquique.<sup>131</sup>

Later the administration again became disquieted by rumors to the effect that the arms had already been delivered to the *Esmeralda*, which had finally succeeded in coaling at Acapulco, Admiral McCann once more took the matter up with the Congressional authorities. They replied,

The commander of the *Esmeralda* has orders to surrender the arms received from the *Itata* or schooner,—this order will be repeated, and—not an article will be landed until arrangements are made for their surrender at San Diego.<sup>132</sup>

During all these negotiations both governments were completely in the dark as to the whereabouts of the *Itata*, doubts which were not removed until June 3, when the *Itata* arrived at Tocopilla, 120 miles south of Iquique. The same night the vessel was ordered to report to Iquique. Although it had communicated with the *Esmeralda* off Acapulco, it had made the rest of the trip without touching any port or speaking any vessel. The following<sup>133</sup> day, June 4, an aid from Captain Montt, the head of the congressional party, advised Admiral McCann that the *Itata* was at his disposition.<sup>134</sup>

At first, in spite of its agreement, the congressional party was

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 259.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 260.

<sup>132</sup> House Doc. p. 264.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 266.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 267.

inclined to put obstacles in the way of the actual return of the *Itata*. The Minister of Foreign affairs attempted to show that the transfer of arms had been made outside the jurisdiction of the United States,<sup>135</sup> and later a delay was attempted by retarding as much as possible the repair work necessary to put the *Itata* in shape for the return voyage.<sup>136</sup> Admiral McCann, however, was adamant in his refusal to admit of any deviation from the agreement. A force of engineers from the United States warships was sent aboard the *Itata* to make the necessary repairs, and, these done,<sup>137</sup> the *Itata* left for San Diego on the evening of the 13th, convoyed by the *Charleston*.<sup>138</sup>

The return trip was made without incident. Captain Tejada of the *Itata* accepted the situation in sportsmanlike manner.<sup>139</sup> Four times during the voyage he sent on board the *Charleston* fresh meat for the entire crew, and offered to let the *Charleston* have coal if it should be needed. Captain Remy returned the compliments as far as possible, sending to Captain Tejada a supply of California wines and cigars.<sup>140</sup> On July 4, the two ships reached San Diego. The *Itata* was taken charge of by the collector of the port<sup>141</sup> until the 8th, when, in response to orders from District Attorney Cole, Marshal Gard formally made the second seizure of the *Itata*, and, this time, also took possession of the arms and ammunition.<sup>142</sup>

5. *The return of the Itata and consequent loss of its cargo was a bitter blow, and engendered much hard feelings—feelings which were not lessened by the fact that eventually when the case came to trial, the court decided in favor of the Itata, and thereby stamped the whole Itata Incident as having been, at least from the standpoint of the congressional party, quite unnecessary.*

<sup>135</sup> For.Rel., 1892, p. 317.

<sup>136</sup> House Doc., p. 26.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 269.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 271.

<sup>139</sup> *Mem. de la Rev.*, p. 406. Capt. Manzenn, previously mentioned, was only the navigating officer of the *Itata*, and Captain Tejada was the real representative of the Congressional Party.

<sup>140</sup> House Doc., p. 274.

<sup>141</sup> *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, July 8, 1891.

<sup>142</sup> Cole papers.

It is hardly necessary to state that the return of the *Itata* excited a very bitter feeling against the United States among the members of the congressional party.<sup>143</sup> Up to the 3rd of June, the revolutionists had not received any arms from abroad.<sup>144</sup> Only six thousand men had been enlisted in the army; ten thousand might easily have been enrolled but there were no arms for them to use, and therefore they were kept busy in the nitrate fields producing the revenues which it was hoped some day could be converted into munitions of war.<sup>145</sup> As a result, the leaders of the congressional party had a hard time keeping up the morale of its army; although very high at the beginning of the struggle, it gradually dropped as no arms were to be had, and the prospect of getting any seemed rather indefinite. Furthermore, the congressional party felt that its success depended on an aggressive campaign which it knew must be undertaken before the arrival of the two ships being finished in Europe for Balmaceda. Once he should have at his command the *Presidentes Errazuriz* and *Pinto*, Balmaceda would in all probability be able to gain control of the sea and in that case the cause of the congressional party would be lost.<sup>146</sup>

It was later claimed that the loss of the *Itata's* cargo delayed the congressional advance for at least two months,<sup>147</sup> a period which was important not only because of the danger of the arrival of the *Presidentes* in the interim, but also because of the fact that living conditions were exceedingly difficult in Iquique. The town lies on a level sandy tract standing out at the foot of barren hills which rise to a height of some two to three thousand feet immediately behind it. On either side of the town, and not more than a mile or so from it, the hills approach the sea again, so that the only means of reaching the interior is by surmounting them. As rain never falls in this district the hills are perfectly destitute of verdure.<sup>148</sup> Consequently all the necessities

<sup>143</sup> House Doc., p. 274; For. Rel., 1892, p. 141.

<sup>144</sup> Vicente Grez, *Viaje de Destierro* (Santiago, 1893), pp. 83-84.

<sup>145</sup> House Doc., p. 254.

<sup>146</sup> Dyer, *ut supra*, *Californian Illustrated Magazine* I, 139.

<sup>147</sup> José M. Santa Cruz, in *North American Review* CLIII, 412.

<sup>148</sup> A. P. Crouch, "The Bombardment of Iquique", in *Nineteenth Century*, XXIX. (1891), 998.

of life, food supplies, and coal had to be bought from coasting tramp steamers.<sup>149</sup> A large part of the foodstuffs had previously come from southern Chile, as they still do today for this region, but as southern Chile was in the hands of the Balmacedists the normal trade was interrupted. In February, the steamer *Esmeralda* overhauled the British S. S. *West Indian* and it was only by standing firmly upon his rights as an Englishman that the captain was able to prevent the seizure of the cargo after he had refused to succumb to offers calculated to make the most obdurate captain release his cargo.<sup>150</sup> The scarcity of powder was so great during the time the *Charleston* was in the harbor that the usual salutes were dispensed with.<sup>151</sup>

As a final summing up of what the departure of the *Itata* must have meant to the congressional party, the best that one can do is to give the statement of Agent Trumbull to a reporter in Washington,

If we had 5,000 arms we could wipe Balmaceda's army off the face of the earth.<sup>152</sup>

This statement was eventually proved true, but the arms used were not those purchased by Mr. Trumbull.

With the delivery of the *Itata* into the hands of the United States marshal at San Diego, the *Itata* Incident may be considered closed as regards its effect on the United States relations with the congressional party. From that time on it merges with the other incidents which eventually lead up to the *Baltimore* Affair.

Early in September 1891, Balmaceda was overthrown and with his suicide on the 18th of September, the day on which his term officially came to a close, all opposition to the congressional party ceased. This of course cast a different light on the status of the *Itata* and although it is an open question as to whether or

<sup>149</sup> *Daily Alta California*, May 15, 1891; *San Franciscan Evening Bulletin*, May 14, 1891.

<sup>150</sup> *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, May 14, 1891.

<sup>151</sup> No. 242, U. S. vs. *Itata*, Papers in the case, Deposition of Ira M. Hollis.

<sup>152</sup> *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, June 11, 1891.



not in the opposite case the government would have won its suits against Trumbull, the *Itata*, and the arms and ammunition, the fact of the matter is that Judge Ross continued the line of reasoning he laid down in his dismissal of the case against the *Robert & Minnie*,<sup>153</sup> July 6, 1891, and decided the other three cases also in favor of the defendants.<sup>154</sup>

The *Itata* meanwhile had been released under bond on October 4, left San Diego two days later, and arrived at Valparaiso, November, 4, 1891.<sup>155</sup>

The cases against the *Itata* and the Arms and Ammunition were appealed, but the circuit court of appeals, 9th circuit, on May 8, 1893 upheld the decisions of Judge Ross.<sup>156</sup> It is possible that had President Harrison been reelected the case would have been carried to the supreme court, but President Cleveland did not see fit to push the matter any further. It is significant, however, that in the case of the United States vs. *Three Friends*,<sup>157</sup> a case very similar to that of the *Itata*, the line of reasoning which had been followed by Judges Campbell and Hutton who had represented the government in the *Itata* cases, was cited and followed and the decision of the lower court was this time reversed.<sup>158</sup>

In conclusion it may be pointed out that an investigation of the part which the *Itata* Incident played in the politics of the period should produce a most interesting chapter in American history. It was made the basis for a bitter attack on Mr. Foster when he became secretary of state in 1892;<sup>159</sup> it was used by the enemies of Attorney General Miller to oppose his appointment to the supreme bench in the spring of 1892;<sup>160</sup> and it provided the Democratic party with a weapon by the use of which they succeeded in making a vigorous assault on the foreign policy

<sup>153</sup> 47 Fed. Rep. 84-85.

<sup>154</sup> 48 Fed. Rep. 99; and 49 Fed. Rep. 646.

<sup>155</sup> *Mem. de la Rev.*, p. 409.

<sup>156</sup> 58 Fed. Rep. 505.

<sup>157</sup> 166 U. S. 1.

<sup>158</sup> Opinion expressed in a letter to the writer by Judge A. W. Hutton.

<sup>159</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, July 4, 1892.

<sup>160</sup> Cole papers.

of Mr. Harrison.<sup>161</sup> It had a bearing on local California politics. On the basis of his alleged mishandling of the *Itata* case, District Attorney Cole was removed to provide a position for a member of Senator Stanford's political organization.<sup>162</sup>

In the world of international commerce, the *Itata* Incident excited much comment. It served to bring into public view the part which the two great rivals for the trade of Chile were playing in the Chilean War. It was even claimed that the firms of Flint & Co. and W. R. Grace & Co. were attempting to prolong the war for the benefits which they were deriving and would derive if the parties which they were respectively supporting should win.<sup>163</sup> While the latter supported the congressional party, Mr. Charles R. Flint "Intelligently and selfsacrificingly supported Mr. Lazcano in his laborious tasks".<sup>164</sup>

In England the *Itata* Incident was rather damaging to our diplomatic reputation. Englishmen were inclined to regard the escape of the *Itata* as an evidence of the pluck and self-reliance which characterized the Chilean navy.<sup>165</sup> Smarting still under the blow to their pride which the *Alabama* Claims Decision gave them, a certain prominent member of the English press did not hesitate to brand the escape of the *Itata* as a "plant" and to make the remark that:

On the face of it what appears is that the *Itata* was allowed to load her contraband of war by the connivance of the authorities, State and Federal.<sup>166</sup>

Finally, the story of the trials themselves remains to be written. Some of the finest legal talent in California, Judges Campbell, Hutton, and White and Mr. George Denis all of Los Angeles, and the firm of Page & Eels of San Francisco appeared before Judge Ross. John W. Foster of Washington represented the

<sup>161</sup> *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, September 22, 1891.

<sup>162</sup> Cole papers; *Los Angeles Times*, June 8, 1892. An open letter to Mr. Miller by Blanton Duncan.

<sup>163</sup> *Daily Alta Californian*, May 8, 1891.

<sup>164</sup> Bafiados Espinoza, *ut supra*, II. 419.

<sup>165</sup> Crouch, *ut supra*, p. 1014.

<sup>166</sup> *Saturday Review*, LXXI. 582.

Balmaceda party, Judge William W. Goodrich of New York looked out for the interests of the *Itata*, and solicitor General William Howard Taft, now chief justice of the supreme court, was also brought into the case from time to time.

OSGOOD HARDY.

## THE SPANISH VERSION OF SIR ANTHONY SHIRLEY'S RAID OF JAMAICA, 1597

EXTRACTS FROM FOUR HERETOFORE UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS,  
EXISTING IN THE ARCHIVO GENERAL  
DE INDIAS, SEVILLE, SPAIN

The first days of February, 1597, certain vessels arrived off the south coast of Jamaica. Seeking to find the entrance to the principal port, but failing (perhaps because their pilot refused to guide them), they sailed as far west as Cabo del Negrillo (Negril Point), whence, recognizing that they had passed the place, they turned back, and came to anchor off the harbor they sought, which served the only settlement in the island, La Villa de la Vega. Sounding the channels, launches made their way in, on February 4, from which Englishmen to the number of 200 to 230 or perhaps 300 landed, armed with muskets and with pikes.

Now, the governor of Jamaica at this time was the licenciado Francisco de Nabeda Alvarado, and he, with the people of La Villa, went down to the landing place, doubtless with some hope of offering resistance to this enemy; but seeing the strength of the landing party, the Spaniards hastily returned to the town, where every man assembled his family, seized what of his goods he thought he could save, and took to the woods for safety. Sir Anthony Shirley (for he commanded the invaders) then took easy possession of La Villa de la Vega.

The general tone of the documents appended (see especially No. 3) suggests that possibly even if he found the town entirely deserted, it did not long remain so. The Spaniards were too well acquainted with English "pirate corsairs" to feel very extreme fear of this one. Their flight was a precautionary measure. Doubtless Sir Anthony readily found a messenger to convey to the absent authorities his demands, which were for a thousand *arrobas* of meat and four hundred *cargas* of *cazabi* [Cassava]. Penalty for failure to deliver was to be destruction of the town.

True to his threat, when, the meat and bread were not forthcoming, apparently after about a week, Sir Anthony began to set fire to the houses.

Among those who had fled to the wilds were the abbot, Don Francisco Marqués de Villalobos, the vicar, *Reverendo Padre Fray Pedro de Ulloque*, and other friars of the Dominican convent. They, and townspeople who had followed them, were encamped at a place called Cayo de la Legua. There, one day, appeared the governor, and the royal officials (Francisco Arnaldo, treasurer; Pedro del Castillo, accountant) and others (prominent citizens), who had come to consult the religious as to the policy best to pursue: evidently they had conscientious scruples as to the propriety of furnishing a heretic enemy with supplies. After consultation among themselves, the abbot, the vicar, and the friars advised the civil authorities against acceding to the Englishmen's demands, arguing that it were better for the people of Jamaica to endure the hardships they were then suffering, than to strengthen the enemy for attack upon Spanish ships at sea.

The governor, and, doubtless, the other lay and religious officials with him, then presented themselves to the people of the town—to the largest accessible group of them—assembled not far from La Villa, and informed them of the decision reached, and forbade them, on penalty of death, to have any dealing whatsoever with the enemy.

On learning this, the English became aggressive. Possibly it was at this time that the first fires were set—it appears that in all, perhaps sixty houses were destroyed. Moreover, in parties, guided by a Jamaican Indian named Pedro, the English rode over the country, especially seeking the abbot and the vicar. They found their camp, and looted it, carrying off everything of value, even to the linen ticks of the woolen mattresses. The abbot, the vicar, and the friars then took refuge with the accountant, Pedro de Castillo, on his plantation at Maimon. The English set out to find them there.

But by this time the Spaniards had had enough. On behalf of the governor, the treasurer, Francisco Arnaldo, and others, held successful parley with the English general and Captain Francisco

Bejarano was despatched with the general's ring, as a token, to bid the party which was after the abbot and the vicar, to return.

One document (No. 2) states simply that it was necessary to give the English the meat and bread they demanded. Carts and horses were furnished them to carry it, and possibly plunder, down to the shore, where their launches waited to transport it to their ships.

After forty days they sailed away, to Honduras, the Spaniards understood, for on the eve of their departure they received a message, it was said, to continue their raids upon his Catholic majesty's traffic and settlements in Indies.

Mr. Frank Cundall, secretary, for the Institute of Jamaica at Kingston, has been conducting an investigation at Seville into sources available in the Archivo General de Indias for the history of Jamaica under the Spaniards. The following extracts are from documents of his collection, which is on file in the West India Reference Library of the Institute.

The writer cannot refrain from calling attention, unnecessarily perhaps, to the dramatic quality of the depositions here given as Document 3. The abbot, the old vicar, and other friars "*deste combento del señor santo domingo*", the townspeople with them, in their hidden camp; the arrival of the governor and royal officials; the question of conscience; the consultation among the religious; the decision, its announcement to the people, and the crying of the prohibition to treat with the enemy—the wrath of the English and smoke of burning homes—the renegade Indian guide, the sound of musketry in the woods at dawn, the flight of the vicar "naked", the abbot, the friars; the irruption of the English into the deserted camp; the splintering of chests, the glint of cash and jewels, and the scattered wool of ripped-up mattresses! What novelist has drawn more colorful pictures than these? Or more moving, than that here glimpsed of Captain Bejarano who, hearing that the English had raided the camp where his wife and children were, breaks in upon them at their work, and follows them to town to bear in upon the English general the poverty, the

misery of the people—the women and the children in the woods. The parley with the angry Sir Anthony; the interview with the party met in the woods who must have the abbot and the vicar (since orders are orders); the incident of the ring, submission, and delivery of the meat and the *cazabi*, and, finally, the picturesque departure from the half-burned town—the bull carts, the pack animals: who cannot see them moving over the road, two leagues to the port, where the launches lie, against a backdrop showing ships rocking at anchor farther out? It seems to the writer that it would be difficult for the most scientific historian on earth to be dry-as-dust with original material, such as this, with which to work; or for any investigator in the Archivo General de Indias to grow weary, so long as the turning pages of old papers display to his eyes not fiction, but fact more fanciful than imagination's best imitations.

IRENE A. WRIGHT.

The following documents are all from Archivo General de Indias, at Seville, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Simancas, Secular, "Cartas y expedients del distrito de la isla de Jamaica vistos en el Consejo desde el año de 1536 a 1634", Estante 54, Cajon 3, Legajo 28.

I.

. . . En la ciudad de santo domingo en dos dias del mes de septiembre de mill y quinientos y nouenta y siete años para la dicha informacion. . . . parecio francisco hernandez<sup>1</sup> clerigo presbitero y canonigo de la santa yglesia de xamayca. . . . dixo . . . que en la dicha ysla se pasan muy grandes trauaxos con los enemigos franceses e yngleses porque es muy molestada dellos y les lleuan de dentro el puerto los nauios sin podello Remediar. . . .

Geronimo de torres . . . dixo . . . que en la dicha ysla se passa y biben con mucho cuidado por rrespeto de los mucho enemigos que por alli andan. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Don Fernando Melgarejo, commissioned governor of Jamaica on October 16, 1596 (A. de I., 7-94-6), protesting that his salary was insufficient, had depositions taken at Santo Domingo to prove the high cost of living in the island, from which the foregoing extracts are taken.

Antonio Hernandez . . . a estado en . . . [Jamaica] dos veces y sabe que la dicha ysla no tiene mas de vn pueblo el qual tendra de vecinos a lo que le quiere parescer de cien vecinos<sup>2</sup> arriua los mas de los quales son pobres y no tienen otro trato ni comercio sino es de cagaue cueros y carne con lo qual acuden y nauegan a tierra firme y a la hauana . . . se passa mucho trabaxo todo el año con franceses e yngleses que de hordinario les sacan los nauios cargados del puerto sin podello rremediar y ansi se a tenido en esta ciudad por nueva como los enemigos en este presente año la saquearon. . . .

## II.

. . . ante el gouernador alcaldes y regidores.<sup>3</sup>

En veinte y tres de diciembre de mill e quinientos y nouenta y siete años . . . el licenciado francisco de naueda albarado testigo . . . dixo e declaro. . . .<sup>4</sup> que sabe que el puerto de esta villa esta sin genero de defensa y es muy frequentado de hordinario de yngleses piratas cossarios que entran con lanchas en las bayas y esteros y toman quantos nauios hallan sin que se lo puedan resistir y saltan en tierra y hacen mucho daño especialmente este presente año que a quatro de febrero entro una armadilla ynglesa de cinco naos y vino una compaña de mas de duzientos yngleses y con estar el puerto mas de dos leguas de la mar lo entraron y saquearon parte de las casas y estancias y robaron mucha hazienda y fue forçoso darles la carne y caçabe que pidieron y ansi combiene que se reforme el dicho puerto y ponga el pueblo en defensa porque no vengan cada año a repararse de bastimentos. . . .

Francisco Gallego . . . dixo y declaro . . . que por el mes de hebrero pasado deste año entro en el puerto desta villa una armada de nauios yngleses y saltaron en tierra y vinieron a este pueblo y saquearon y robaron la tierra ansi en el pueblo como en los montes y hizieron mucho daño y quemaron al pie de sesenta cassas y corrieron la tierra donde tenian noticia estauan los uezinos. . . .

Captain francisco bejarano . . . dixo que sabe . . . de muchos años a esta parte por la poca defensa y posible que ay para ello

<sup>2</sup> A fourth witness estimates the population of La Villa de la Vega at 160 *vezinos*, "*poco mas o menos y dellos pobres*".

<sup>3</sup> The document from which these extracts are made is a petition from La Villa de la Vega to the crown; it was read in Madrid on October 25, 1600.

<sup>4</sup> From an *interrogatorio* and depositions there have been extracted only those paragraphs referring directly to Shirley's raid.



en la tierra . . . saltan los enemigos en tierra y hazen mucho daño como este presente año que a quatro de hebrero entro una armada de yngleses de cinco naos y lanchas y uinieron a esta uilla con cierta cantidad de yngleses con estar el pueblo mas de dos leguas de la mar lo entraron e saquearon y quemaron parte de las casas y estancias y rrobaron mucha hazienda ansi en el pueblo como en el campo donde algunos vecinos se auian ydo a guarescer con sus pobrezas a causa de no tener los uezinos armas ni municiones para la defensa de la tierra. . . .

Pedro de fontiueros . . . declaro . . . que por el mes de hebrero pasado deste año entro en el dicho puerto cierta armada de yngleses y saltaron en tierra y vinieron a esta uilla siete esquadras de yngleses . . . y lo tomaron y lo saquearon y quemaron muchas casas y estancias y robaron mucha hazienda ansi en el pueblo como en el campo. . . .<sup>5</sup>

### III.

En la villa de la uega desta ysla de xamaica de las yndias del mar oceano en dies y seis dias del mes de junio de mill y quinientos e nouenta y siete años . . . don francisco marques de villalouos abad desta dicha villa . . . digo que<sup>6</sup> . . . por principio de hebrero pasado deste año entraron en el puerto principal desta ysla tres naos gruesas de ingleses los quales con lanchas echaron mucha gente en tierra tanta que no fue pusible defendelle y Resistille su poder e fuersa por venir con sus mosquetes e Picas y asi uinieron a esta villa e la tomaron e se apoderaron della en que nos fue forçoso salirnos huyendo e yrnos a los montes e yo y los padres del conbento del señor santo domingo con mi casa e Ropa e hacienda me fui al monte en el cayo que dicen de la legua y dentro del me Ranchee con la dicha mi gente y aviendose tratado del Resgate del pueblo porque los dichos enemigos no lo quemasen fue cosa publica y notoria que entraban muchas personas a hablar con los dichos ingleses y les decian que yo y los padres eramos de parecer que

<sup>5</sup> In the document from which these extracts are made La Villa de la Vega bulked Sir Anthony Shirley's visit in with other calamities (a hurricane, a call from another "English pirate corsair" just one year later), using them as arguments near the crown for various favors and improvements which the colony wanted.

<sup>6</sup> Extracted from a petition for removal from Jamaica presented by the abbot to the king in his royal council for the Indies; seen on March 13, 1598. He argued that he had been left so poor and his income in Jamaica was so small, he could not support himself there in a becoming manner.

no les diese la carne y casauí que pedían lo qual sabido por los dichos yngleses dezían que habían de hazer todo lo pusible por prender a mí y a los dichos padres y así lo pusieron por obra pues vn día a el amanecer llebando consigo guía que les enseñó a donde yo estava y entraron en el dicho cayo Preguntando por mí y por los dichos padres en tal manera que nos fue forsoso huir por los dichos montes dejando allí toda mi rropa dineros e hoias y otras muchas cosas lo qual los dichos yngleses tomaron y Rouaron y se lo lleuaron. . . .

Pedro del Castillo contador general jues oficial en esta villa . . . sabe . . . que por principio del mes de febrero pasado deste presente año vinieron al Puerto principal desta villa vnas naos de yngleses de los quales saltaron en tierra segun fue publico y se dixo mas cantidad de tresientos hombres con sus mosquetes y armas los quales vinieron a esta dicha villa y se apoderaron della porque por ser mucho su poder no se les pudo resistir la entrada y así fue forzoso a todos los vecinos e moradores desta ysla desamparar y dexar el pueblo e yrnos a los montes cada uno con lo que podia escapar de su hacienda y así uido este testigo quel dicho abad don francisco marquez de villalobos se rrecojio e rretiro a un monte que dizen del cayo de la legua llebando consigo y en su compañía al bicario e frayles del conbento del señor santo domingo y otras personas Pobres que se le llegaron por que les faboreciera y sabe y vio este testigo que despues de haber quemado los dichos yngleses algunas casas desta dicha villa e hecho otros muchos daños y Rouos se trato con ellos del Resgate del pueblo y estandose tratando del oyo decir este testigo quel general e capitanes de los dichos yngleses dezían que bien savían quel dicho abad hera de pareser que no se Rescatase el pueblo y quel y los padres que con el estaban heran de pareser que no se les diese la carne y casave que pedían e que ellos harían todas sus diligencias hasta prenderlos e averlos en su poder y así vido este testigo que lo pusieron por oura porque llebando consigo y en su compañía vn indio llamado pedro natural desta ysla que de su voluntad abia entrado con ellos fueron vna mañana al monte y Rancho donde estava el dicho abad con los dichos padres Retirado y entrando por el dicho monte tirando muchos mosquetazos preguntaban por el dicho abad a un indio que toparon en el y así llegaron hasta el dicho Rancho donde el dicho abad tenia su Ropa dineros y hoias e otras muchas cosas que avia escapado del pueblo e llebado allí todo lo qual los dichos yngleses le Rouaron e hurtaron y el dicho abad e los padres y demas personas que con el estaban se entraron huyendo por los montes que Por poco los tomaron lo qual savido por este testigo aquel mesmo día que Rouaron a el dicho

abad le enbio a suplicar que se rrecogiese a donde este testigo estaba que hera en su hato de maimon y asi el dicho abad fue con los dichos padres y los demas que abian salido huyendo por los montes al dicho hato de maimon onde este testigo estaba los quales llegaron rrouados e con solo lo que llebavan ensima e alli se estubo el dicho abad con este testigo en el dicho su hato sin venir como no vino al Pueblo hasta en tanto que los dichos yngleses se boluieron a la mar y que demas desto sabe y vio este testigo que vna esquadra de los dichos yngleses yuan al dicho hato de maimon en busca del dicho abad e del governador diziendo que no habian de parar hasta cogerlos pues que no querian benir en que se Rescatase el pueblo e que demas desto sabe y uio este testigo que vn dia despues de auerse ido a la mar los dichos yngleses vinieron al Pueblo unos capitanes de los dichos yngleses y sabido por el dicho abad que lo querian yr a bisitar se salio de casa y se fue a el monasterio de señor santo domingo por no hablarles.

. . . Reverendo Padre frai Pedro de Viloque de la horden de señor santo domingo y vicario deste combento . . . sabe . . . que por el mes de hebrero pasado deste año en que estamos entraron en el puerto desta villa tres naos de yngleses e saltaron en tierra con sus armas mosquetes e picas de forma que por ser mucha gente les fue foroso a los vecinos desamparar e dexar sus casas y el pueblo e yrse a los montes y asi sabe y vio que los dichos yngleses entraron en el pueblo y se apoderaron del y Rouaron e saquearon lo que en el avia y quemaron muchas casas y estando el dicho abad en el monte que dicen de la legua a donde asi mismo estubo este testigo con los demas padres deste combento y otras muchas personas Poures que el dicho abad auia Recogido y amparado en su rancho llegaron el licenciado francisco de nabeda albarado gouernador desta ysla y el capitan pedro lopes y Pedro de castillo contador y francisco arnaldo tesorero y otros vezinos desta villa e trataron al dicho abad y demas Padres que los yngleses avian enbiado a pedir sierta cantidad de carne y casabi en Resgate del pueblo quelo dicho abad e frailes mirasemos si con buena consiensia se podia hazer y se les dixese lo que soure ello se deuia haser lo qual oido por el dicho abad y este testigo y demas frailes deste combento que presentes estaban el dicho abad tomo pareser de todos los frailes y abiendo oydo a todos fue acordado e dio por Respuesta al dicho licenciado francisco de nabeda gouernador que no se les debia dar carne ni casabi por quanto era sustento y con ello se entreternian en estas Partes haciendo mucho mal y daño en los nabios que andan en estas partes y uienen de castilla y asi era de pareser el dicho abad y todos los padres que no se les diese

cosa alguna aunque quemasen y asolasen todo el Pueblo y que todos los vezinos y demas del pueblo se pusiesen en couro y que menos daño era que quemasen el pueblo que no se les diese fauor y ayuda en darles los uastimentos que pedian con lo qual en los puertos destas yndias e Por la mar harian mucho mal e daño a los nuestros y asi uido este testigo quel dicho gouernador y demas personas que con el auian ydo Resolutos en esto se fueron serca del pueblo a donde estaban la mayor parte de vecinos juntos aguardando al dicho gouernador y este testigo fue con el y vido que el dicho gouernador dixo a todos lo que estaba acordado y mando a pregonar so pena de la vida que ninguna persona entrase en el pueblo ni les hablasen sino que todos se guardasen dellos y otro día por la mañana al amanecer este testigo sabe y vio que vinieron al Rancho del dicho abad mucha cantidad de yngleses todos con sus armas y mosquetes de forma que al dicho abad y a este testigo y demas frailes y toda la demas gente que avia les fue forsozo yr huyendo por los montes y desmamparar y dexar cada uno lo que tenia y asi sabe y uio que los dichos yngleses llebaron y Rouaron toda quanta Ropa y aderesos de casa del dicho abad hoias dineros y todo lo demas porque despues de haber salido los dichos yngleses del dicho Rancho que este testigo y otras personas fueron de los primeros que llegaron vido como en todo el Rancho los dichos yngleses no habian dejado cosa alguna de todo lo que en el estaba que era del dicho abad y frayles y del conbento y de las demas personas que alli se abian Recogido y asi el dicho abad y este testigo y los demas frayles se fueron al hato del contador Pedro de castillo a donde sabe y uio este testigo que por aber escapado el dicho abad desnudo el dicho gouernador le dio una Ropilla y calsones de paño con que se uistio. . . .

Francisco arnaldo thesorero general jues oficial desta ysla . . . sabe . . . quel mes de febrero proximo pasado deste año entraron en este puerto desta villa tres naos de yngleses con sus lanchas y echaron mucha gente en tierra con sus armas e mosquetes que por ser tanta fuersa no fue posible poderles en esta villa los vecinos della Resistir y assi todos huyeron y el enemigo vino a el pueblo y se apodero del y Rouo y saqueo lo que en el auia y todos los vecinos y demas gente desta villa se fueron a los montes a donde todos los dias corrian los montes dos leguas al Rededor del Pueblo a donde estaban Rancheados y escondidos los vecinos porque los llebaba e guiaba vn yndio que con ellos se huyo y entre los Ranchos que fueron vno de ellos fue del dicho abad a donde estaba con los padres deste conbento y otras muchas personas vecinos y forasteros quel dicho abad auia fecho Recojer de manera vn día al

amanescer dieron en el dicho Rancho porque este testigo los vido entrar y Rouaron y saquearon el Rancho del dicho abad y a todos los que en el estaban a donde llevaron la Ropa toda que tenian y todo lo demas sin dejar cosa alguna porque este testigo llevo al dicho Rancho y vido que en el no auia sino arcas basias y quebradas y lana que baliaron los colchones que hallaron para llebarse el lienso dellos e visto por el licenciado francisco de nabeda albarado gouernador los daños e Rouos que cada dia hazian e casas que quemaban los dichos yngleses acordo de que estando juntos muchos vecinos de tratarse lo que se devia hacer y acordaron que se tomase su parecer del dicho abad don francisco marques de villalouos abad para lo qual fue el dicho gouernador y el capitan Pedro lopes y pedro de castillo contador y este testigo y otras personas y el dicho gouernador le dixo al dicho abad que el yngles auia enbiado a pedir se le diese carne y casauí en Rescate del pueblo porque sino se le daba lo avia de quemar todo y abrasar y abia de salir por todos los montes a buscar los Ranchos que hallase e que no se le auia enbiado Respuesta hasta tomar su pareser y de los padres que alli estaban que mirase lo que justamente ser a lo qual el dicho abad Respondio que aunque se pasase trauajo algunos dias y ándubiesen de aquella manera era de pareser que no se les diese nada de lo que pedian porque con ello podian hacer mal y daño en las naos que de españa viniesen y otros nabios de las yndias y se entreternian teniendo vastimentos en estas partes e que antes tomasen pasar trabajo que no dalles nada de lo que pedian porque se abia de excoger el menos daño y asi el dicho gouernador y este testigo y los demas se fueron a donde estaban los demas vecinos y uido que el dicho gouernador mando a pregonar que no entrase ninguna persona en el pueblo ni hablase a los dichos yngleses so pena de la uida y despues que Rouaron al dicho abad se fue al hato del contador pedro de cast<sup>o</sup> a donde este testigo vido que vna esquadra de los dichos yngleses yuan al dicho hato en busca del dicho abad diziendo que no auian de parar hasta coxerllo porque por su causa no les habian dado lo que pedian y para que no hiciesen mas daño y viniese mas mal fueron este testigo y algunas personas a hablar al general yngles con orden del dicho gouernador y a decirle que mirase el daño y estrago que abian fecho en la tierra y que no permitiese que en los montes padeciesen mugeres y niños y que mandase voluerse a embarcar pues auian Rouado los Ranchos de mas cavdal de la tierra y otros muchos daños que auian fecho el qual dixo que tenia propuesto de no salir ni embarcarse hasta prender al abad y a un fraile que le auian dicho que eran los que auian sido causa de que no se les diese la carne y casabi que auian pedido y

este testigo por aplacarle le dixo que no abia sido parte sino que la tierra estaba muy alcansada y que para el sustento de los vecinos no lo abia y queste testigo sabe y uio quel dicho abad no quiso benir a el pueblo hasta que los dichos yngleses se boluieron a embarcar. . . .

Capitan Francisco Bejarano . . . sabe . . . que porfebrero deste año entraron en el puerto desta uilla tres naos de yngleses con sus lanchas y el gouernador y los vecinos fueron a la mar a donde los dichos yngleses desembarcaron y visto por el dicho gouernador que era mucha gente y no podellos Resistir se boluio a el pueblo y los vecinos que auian ydo donde cada uno procuro ponerse en cobro y uido que los dichos yngleses entraron y saquearon lo que en el hallaron y los vecinos y gente del se fueron por los montes a donde se Rancheaban y los dichos yngleses enbiaron a decir al gouernador les Rescatasen el pueblo y fuesen a tratar de Rescate y oyo decir quel don francisco marques de billalouos abad abia dicho que no se Rescatase por lo qual saue y vio que otro dia los dichos yngleses entraron por sus esquadras por los montes y los corrian y talaban y uido que entre los Ranchos que entraron fue uno el de el dicho abad y de toda la jente que en el estaba y oyo decir que el dicho abad y los frayles y demas gente que con el estaba se abian escapado huyendo por el monte y que los dichos yngleses abian lleuado y Rouado todo lo que en el Rancho thenian sin dejar cosa alguna y otro dia al amanecer dieron en el monte donde este testigo estaba Rancheado y otras personas a donde huyeron su mujer e hijos por los montes e las demas personas que con ellos estaban y este testigo entendiendo uiesen coxido en el Rancho boluio a donde hallo a los dichos yngleses quebrando y desaRajando las caxas de a donde llevaron mas de tres mill pesos y uiendo este testigo que a el y a su muger e hijos los dexaban desnudos se bino con ellos a el pueblo por ber si le daban alguna cosa de su Ropa a donde hallo al general y este testigo le Represento que mirase la pobreza y miseria desta ysla y los trabajos con que andaban por los montes y que el casabe y carne que pedia no atribuyese a culpa el no auerselo dado porque no lo abia ni tenian los vecinos para su sustento y el dicho general con mucha colera dixo que no abia de salir ni embarcarse hasta que tubiese a el abad y lo abia de prender y a un fraile viejo que con el estaba porque le abian dicho que estos eran los que abian sido parte para que no se les diese el casabe y carne que en Rescate auian pedido y asi sabe y uio que vna esquadra de yngleses yba camino de maimon dziendo yban a prender a el dicho abad y al gouernador y este testigo se llevo a ellos porque le conocian del día atras y les dixo e Rogo que parasen y ellos dixeron que no podian porque

llebaban orden del general que corriesen toda la tierra y no bolbiesen sin traelle a el abad y a el gouernador que le truxesen toda la gente que hallasen y este testigo les persuadio a que esperasen alli hasta que el viniese porque yba a hablarle y assi lo acabo con ellos y llegue a hablar persuadiendole se contentase con los daños que hauia fecho y los trabajos o desuenturas que todos Padecian el qual mando que se boluiesen e le dio a este testigo vn anillo suyo que tenia en el dedo por donde los dichos yngleses fuesen siertos que el lo mandaba y assi pidio quel se queria yr a embarcar que si querian que se fuese que le diesen carretas y auio para en que fuese la gente y llebasen el Pillaje que auian fecho donde no que se estarian y assi se les dieron carretas y caballos. . . .

## IV

## Señor

. . . llegue a esta isla a primero de este y halle que a cuatro de febrero auia llegado a este puerto vna armada ynglesa general Antonio cerleyo estuuu en esta ysla quarenta dias el qual traia siete baxeles  
 Lo que hizo el yngles quando sa-      quatro gruesos y tres lanchas dos de los quales se  
 queo esta isla.      dexo en la vanda de el norte con disignio de que  
                                  buscasen que comer y segun soy ynformado este  
 corsario auia Robado a cabo verde y sancta marta de donde traia un piloto pratico, el qual auiendole negado la entrada de este puerto fue corriendo la costa hasta que viendose en el cabo de el negrillo Reconocio que dexaua atras el puerto y ansi boluio a barlouentear y parecio sobre el a los quatro de hebrero donde estuuu de vna buelta y otra, dos dias por no saber la entrada, y negarsela el dicho piloto hasta que con las lanchas y baxeles sondo las canales y dexando surtos los nauios gruesos a boca de canal, martes quatro del dicho mes entraron tres lanchas de boga arrancada y vinieron a surgir a la playa donde por hallar poca defensa, y aparejos para ella, . . . desembarcaron, tres vanderas con duzientos y treinta hombres, y començaron a marchar al pueblo guiados y ynstigados a lo que se a entendido de vn yndio natural de esta ysla que a la entrada de el puerto, se fue a los nauios, y les dixo la poca fuerça y Reparos que auia y ansi entraron en el pueblo y saquearon lo que hallaron en el, y auiendose detenido ocho dias, sin que se les quisiese dar el Rescate que pedian queran mill arrobas de carne y quatrocientas cargas de caçauí començaron a poner fuego (a) algunos bohios y ansi se determinaron a dar lo que pidieron con esto se rretiraron a sus naos, y a lo que se entendio dellos yvan a la

prouincia de honduras, porque estando de partida vino otro nauio de ynfanteria y dos lanchas y dixeron traian nuevas ynstruciones de que se (de)tuuiesen por estas yndias todo este año. . . .

. . . . A Vuestra magestad . . . . Nuestro señor guarde muchos Años . . . . de jamayca 15 de agosto 1597.

DON FERNANDO MELGAREJO DE CORDOYA

[Indorsed:] . . . . vista y respondida en 10 de março 1599 . . . .

[TRANSLATION]

I

. . . . In the city of Santo Domingo, on the second day of the month of September, 1597, in order that he might give the said information . . . ., appeared Francisco Hernandez,<sup>7</sup> presbyter and canon of the holy church of Xamayca. . . . He declared . . . . that in the said island, many severe hardships are occurring because of the French and English enemies, for the island is greatly troubled by them, and they take away from them their ships from the very harbor, without the possibility of any alleviation. . . .

Geronimo de Torres . . . . declared . . . . that people exist and live in the said island with considerable apprehension because of their fear of the many enemies who scurry hither and thither . . . .

Antonio Hernandez . . . . has been in . . . . [Jamaica] twice, and knows that the said island has only one town. This has, as it appears to him, about 100 citizens<sup>8</sup> or so, most of whom are poor, and have no other business or trade except that in cassava, hides, and meat, which they take in sailing vessels to Tierra Firme and to Havana. . . . There is considerable trouble throughout the year with the French and English who usually take away their loaded ships from the port without the possibility of any alleviation. It has also been reported in this city that these enemies sacked it this present year. . . .

. . . . Before the governor, alcaldes, and regidores.<sup>9</sup>

On December 23, 1597. . . . Licentiate Francisco de Naveda Albarado, witness, . . . . declared and stated . . . .<sup>10</sup> that he knows that the port of this place [La Villa de la Vega] is lacking in all

<sup>7</sup> See *ante*, note 1.

<sup>8</sup> See *ante*, note 2.

<sup>9</sup> See *ante*, note 3.

<sup>10</sup> See *ante*, note 4.



kinds of defense, and is generally much infested by English pirates and corsairs, who enter the bays and creeks in their launches and capture all the ships they find without the people being able to resist them. They go ashore and do considerable damage—especially so during this present year. On February 4, a small English fleet of five vessels entered and a band of over two hundred English came; and although the port was over two leagues from shore, they entered it and sacked part of the houses and plantations and stole considerable property. It was necessary to give them the cassava and meat for which they asked. Therefore, it is advisable that the said port be reconstructed and that the town be placed in a state of defense, so that the English may not come yearly to fortify themselves with our supplies. . . .

Francisco Gallego . . . stated and declared . . . that during the month of February of this year, there entered the port of this place a fleet of English vessels. The men came ashore and entered into this town. They looted and sacked the country, both the town and uncultivated lands, and did much damage, burning about sixty houses. They overran the land where they heard the inhabitants were . . .

Captain Francisco Bejarano . . . said that he knows . . . that in this region for many years back because of the lack of defense and the little possibility therefor in the land . . . enemies are wont to disembark and cause considerable damage, as they did this present year when an English fleet of five ships and launches entered on February 4, and came to this place with a certain number of English. Although the town is over two leagues from the sea, they entered it and sacked it. They burned a part of the houses and plantations, and looted considerable property both in the town and in the fields whither some of the inhabitants had gone in order to save themselves with their few possessions, because the inhabitants had neither arms nor munitions for the defense of the country. . . .

Pedro de Fontiveros . . . declared . . . that a certain English fleet entered the said port during the month of February of this year. There disembarked and came to this place seven bands of English . . . who took it and sacked it, burning many houses and plantations and looting considerable property both in town and in the open country. . . .<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> See *ante*, note 5.

## III.

In La Villa de la Vega, in this island of Xamaica of the Indies of the Ocean Sea, on the sixteenth day of the month of June, 1597, . . . . Don Francisco Marques de Villalobos, abbot of this said place, . . . . stated that<sup>12</sup>. . . at the beginning of February of the past year, there entered the chief port of this island three large English ships. These by means of launches landed many men ashore, so many that it was impossible to defend it and resist their force as they came with their muskets and pikes. Hence they came to this place which they seized and captured. On that account it was necessary for us to flee and take to the wilds. Myself and the fathers of the convent of St. Dominic, with my household and clothing and property fled to the wilds to El Cayo called De la Legua. There, I stopped with the afore-said my people. Having discussed the matter of a ransom of the town, in order that these said enemies might not burn it, it was wellknown and notorious that many people went to speak with the said English and told them that myself and the fathers were of the opinion that the meat and cassava for which they asked should not be given them. When this was learned by the said English, they said that they would do their utmost to capture me and the said fathers. So they set about it, for at daybreak on a day, accompanied by a guide who showed them where I was, they entered the said Cayo asking for me and for the said fathers, so that we had to flee through the said wilds leaving behind all my clothes, money, jewels, and many other things. These the said English seized and stole and carried away. . . .

Pedro de Castillo, accountant general, official judge in this place. . . . knows . . . that at the beginning of the month of February of this present year, certain English ships entered the principal port of this place. From these ships there landed, as was wellknown, and according to report more than three hundred men with their muskets and weapons who came to this place and captured it. Inasmuch as their force was considerable, their entrance could not be resisted. Consequently, it was necessary for all us citizens and inhabitants of this island to abandon and leave the town and take to the wilds, each with what he could carry of his property. Thus, this witness saw that the said abbot, Don Francisco Marques e Villalobos sought shelter and took refuge in a wild place called El Cayo de la Legua, taking with him and in his company the vicar and friars of the convent of St. Dominic, and other poor persons

<sup>12</sup> See *ante*, note 6.

who went to him for protection. This witness knows and saw that after the said English had burned some houses of this said place and perpetrated much other damage and theft, negotiations for the ransom of the town were opened with them. During the negotiations, this witness heard it said that the general and captains of the said English declared that they knew well that the said abbot was of the opinion that the town should not be ransomed, and that he and the father who were with him were of the opinion that the English should not be given the meat and cassava for which they asked, and that they would do their best to capture them and get them into their possession. Accordingly, this witness saw that they set to work, for taking with them and in their company an Indian called Pedro, a native of this island, who of his own free will and accord had gone to them, they went one morning to the wilds and camp where the said abbot and the said fathers had retired. Entering the said wilds and firing many shots, they asked an Indian whom they met there for the said abbot. Thus they came to the said camp, where the said abbot had his clothing, money, jewels, and many other things which he had taken away from the town and carried thither. All these the said English looted and stole, and the said abbot, the fathers, and other persons who accompanied him went fleeing through the woods, almost being captured. When this witness learned this, on the same day on which they robbed the said abbot, he sent a messenger to him requesting him to take refuge with this witness, namely, at his plantation of Maimon. Accordingly, the said abbot, the said fathers, and the rest who had fled into the woods, went to the said plantation of Maimon where this witness was. They arrived stripped of their possessions and with only what they had on. There the said abbot stayed with this witness in his said plantation, and did not come (as he himself did not do) to the town, until at length the said English returned to the sea. This witness also knows and saw that a band of the said English were on their way to the said plantation of Maimon in search of the said abbot and the governor, saying that they would not stop until they caught them, since they would not consent to the ransom of the town. This witness also knows and saw that on the day after the said English had gone to the sea, some captains of the said English came to the town. When the said abbot heard that they were about to visit him, he left the house and went to the monastery of St. Dominic in order not to talk to them.

. . . Reverend Father Fray Pedro de Ulloque of the order of St. Dominic, and vicar of this convent, . . . knows . . . that

in the month of February of this present year, three English ships entered the port of this place. They landed with their muskets, side-arms, and pikes, so that as they were many men, it was necessary for the citizens to abandon and leave their houses and the town and take to the wilds. He also knows and saw that the said English entered the town and took possession of it, looting and stealing whatever they found and burning many houses. The said abbot being in the place called De la Legua, with this witness and the other fathers of this convent, and many other poor persons to whom the said abbot had given asylum and protection, in his farm, there came Licentiate Francisco de Naveda Albarado, governor of this island, Captain Pedro Lopez, Pedro de Castillo, the accountant, Francisco Arnaldo, the treasurer, and other citizens of this place. They told the said abbot and the other friars that the English had sent them to request a certain quantity of meat and cassava as a ransom for the town, and said that we, the said abbot and friars, should decide whether in good conscience this could be done, and tell them what ought to be done about it. The said abbot, this witness, and the other friars of this convent who were present, having all heard this, the said abbot asked the opinion of all the friars. All having heard it, it was agreed and reply was made to the said Licentiate Francisco de Naveda, the governor, that neither meat nor cassava should be given them, inasmuch as it was food, and they could feed themselves with it in these parts and cause much evil and damage to the ships which ply in these waters and come from Castile. Thus the said abbot and all the fathers were of the opinion that nothing should be given the English, even if the latter burned and devastated the whole town and even if all the citizens and other inhabitants of the town should be stripped to the skin. Less damage would ensue if they should burn the town than that any aid and assistance should be shown them by giving the food for which they asked, with which they could do much evil and damage to ours in the ports of these Indies and on the sea. This witness also saw that the said governor and other persons who had gone with him were resolved on this. They went near the town where the greater part of the citizens were assembled to await the said governor. This witness went with him and saw that the said governor told all the people what had been agreed on. He ordered it to be proclaimed under penalty of death that no person should enter the town or talk with the English, but that all should keep away from them. At dawn on the following morning, this witness knows and saw that a numerous band of the English all armed with side arms and muskets came to

the said abbot's place, so that the said abbot, this witness, the other friars, and all the other people with him were forced to take to flight through the wilds, and each to abandon and leave his possessions behind. He also knows and saw that the said English took and robbed all the clothes, and adornments of the said abbot's house, and his jewels, money, and everything else. For after the said English had left the said camp, and this witness and other persons were the first to arrive, he saw that the said English had left nothing in the whole place of all the possessions of the said abbot and friars and of the convent and of the other persons who had taken refuge there. So the said abbot, this witness, and the other friars went to the plantation of the accountant, Pedro de Castillo, where this witness knows and saw that since the said abbot had escaped quite naked, the said governor gave him a jacket and a cloth pair of breeches with which he dressed himself . . .

Francisco Arnaldo, the treasurer general, official judge of this island . . . knows . . . that in the month of February of this year, three English ships with their launches entered this port of this place. Many men disembarked with their side arms and muskets. As they were in great force, it was quite impossible for the citizens of this place to resist them. Accordingly they all fled. The enemy came to the town, captured it, and looted and sacked it thoroughly. All the citizens and other people of this place took to the wilds. Every day the English overran the district for two leagues about the town where the citizens were living hidden for they were led and guided by an Indian who fled to them. Among the camps was that of the said abbot, where he was with the fathers of this convent and many other persons, citizens and outsiders, whom the said abbot had had collected together. Thus at daybreak one day, the English came upon the said camp for this witness saw them enter. They robbed and sacked the camp of the said abbot and all who were there. They took all the clothing there and everything else not leaving a single thing behind. For this witness came to the said camp and saw nothing left but empty and broken chests and wool which was emptied from the mattresses which the English found in order to take away the ticking from them. When Licentiate Francisco de Nabeda Albarado, the governor, saw the damage and thefts which the said English were perpetrating daily, and the houses burned by them, he determined after collecting together many of the citizens to discuss what was best to be done. They determined that they should get the opinion of the said abbot, Don Francisco Marques de Villalovos. The said governor, Captain Pedro Lopes,

Pedro de Castillo, accountant, this witness, and other persons went for that purpose. The said governor told the said abbot that the English [general] had sent a messenger to request that meat and cassava be given them as a ransom for the town; saying that unless these were given, he would burn and lay waste everything. He was about to go through all the wild region, in search of the camps which he might find. [The governor said] that no reply had been sent the English until getting the abbot's opinion and that of the fathers who were there. Let him decide carefully what it was best to do. To this the said abbot replied that, even though the hardships endured several days and the people should go about in that manner, he was of the opinion that nothing of what the English asked should be given them, for having it they could harm and damage the ships coming from Spain and other ships of the Indies, and could maintain themselves in these parts if they had food. The people should rather resolve to suffer hardships than to give the English anything of what they asked; for the less damage must be chosen. Therefore the said governor and this witness and the others returned to the place where were the other citizens. He saw that the said governor had a proclamation made to the effect that no person should enter into the town or speak to the said English under penalty of death. After the English had robbed the said abbot, he went to the plantation of the accountant, Pedro de Castillo, where this witness saw that a band of the said English were on their way to the said plantation to look for the said abbot, saying that they would not stop until seizing him, for because of him they had not been given what they had requested. In order that they might not do more damage and that greater loss might not ensue, this witness and some persons went to talk with the English general by order of the said governor and to tell him that he should be mindful of the damage and ruin the English had perpetrated in the country; that he should not permit women and children to suffer in the wilds; and that he should order his men to reembark, for they had looted the houses outside the town of the most of the wealth of the country and had perpetrated many other harmful acts. The general said that he had resolved not to leave or embark until he had captured the abbot and a friar whom he had been told were the ones who had been the cause of their not having been given the meat and cassava for which they had asked. This witness in order to appease him told him that the abbot had not been involved in this, but that the country was needy and could not furnish food for its citizens. This witness knows and

saw that the said abbot refused to come to the town until the said English had reembarked. . . .

Captain Francisco Bejarano . . . knows . . . that in February of this year, there entered into the port of this place three English ships with their launches. The governor and the citizens went to the sea where the said English disembarked. When the governor saw that there was a large force, and that it was impossible to resist them, he returned to the town, as did also the citizens who had accompanied him, where each one tried to hide himself. He saw that the said English entered and sacked whatever they found in the town. The citizens and people of the town took to the wilds, where they collected into camps. The said English sent word to the governor that they should ransom the town and should go to discuss the ransom. He heard it reported that the said Don Francisco Marques de Billalovos, the abbot, had said that the town should not be ransomed. On that account, he knows and saw that on the following day the said English went by bands through the wild places and overran and laid them waste. He saw that among the camps which they entered was one, namely, that of the said abbot and of all the people who were in it. He heard it said that the said abbot and the friars and other people who were with him, had taken to flight through the woods, and that the said English had taken away and stolen everything in the camp and had not left a single thing. At daybreak next day, the English bore down upon the region where this witness and other persons were encamped, and whither his wife and children fled through the woods together with the other people who were with them. This witness hearing that they had been seized in the camp returned thither and he found the said English breaking and opening boxes from which they took more than three thousand pesos. When this witness saw that they were leaving himself, his wife, and his children destitute, he accompanied them to the town to see whether they would give him any of their clothing. There he found the general. This witness represented to him the poverty and misery of this island, and the hardships suffered in going through the woods, and said that the failure to get the cassava and meat which the general asked should not be blamed on him, for neither he nor the citizens had any for their own support. In great anger the said general said that he would not leave or embark until he had the abbot and that he would capture him and an old friar who accompanied him, for he had been told that they were the ones who had been responsible for not giving the English the cassava and meat which had been asked as ransom. Accordingly,

he knows and saw that a band of the English was going along the road toward Maimon asserting that they were going to seize the said abbot and the governor. This witness went up to them for they recognized him from the day before and asked and begged them to stop. But they said that they could not, for they had been ordered by the general to overrun the whole country and not to return without bringing the abbot and the governor and that they were to bring in to the general all the people they might find. This witness persuaded them to wait there until he should come, for he was going to talk to the general. Thus he obtained his purpose with them and succeeded in talking with the general, whom he persuaded to be content with the damage he had committed and the hardships or misfortunes that all were suffering. The general ordered the English to return and gave this witness his finger ring in token that the said English might be certain that he ordered this. He also asked the general to please embark saying that if they wished it, carts and assistance would be given him to carry the men and their plunder over places where they could not go. Accordingly carts and horses were given to them. . . .

## IV

Sir

. . . I arrived at this island on the first of this month, and found that on the fourth of February an English fleet has come to this port. General Antonio Cerleyo [*i.e.*, Anthony Shirley] stayed in this island for forty days. He brought seven ships, four large ones, and three launches. Two of them were left in the north for the purpose of obtaining food. According to my information, that corsair had assaulted Cape Verde and Sancta Marta, whence he carried off an experienced pilot. The latter having denied that he knew anything about the entrance to this port, ran along the coast as far as Cabo de el Negrillo. The general recognized that he had passed the port, whereupon he turned back to windward. He came upon the port on February four and kept going up and down on various tacks for a couple of days as he did not know the entrance, and the said pilot refused to tell him of it, until he sounded the channels with his launches and ships. Leaving the large vessels anchored at the mouth of the channel, three launches entered on Tuesday, the fourth of the said month, by dint of rowing and came to anchor at the beach. There finding little defense and no

What the English  
did when they  
sacked this island.



equipment for defense, . . . three bands comprising two hundred and thirty men disembarked, and began to march upon the town. They were guided and encouraged to do this by an Indian native of this island who had met the ships at the entrance of the port, and told them of the small force and defense there. Consequently, they entered the town, and looted whatever they found there. After staying a week, without getting the ransom which they asked, namely, one thousand arrobas of meat and four hundred loads of cassava, they began to set fire to some huts. Accordingly, it was decided to give them what they asked, whereupon they returned to their ships. According to what was understood from them they were going to the province of Honduras, for while they were leaving, another ship came carrying infantry and two launches, and stated that they brought new instructions to stay in these Indies all this year. . . .

. . . May our Lord keep you Majesty . . . many years. . . .  
Jamayca, August 15, 1597.

DON FERNANDO MELGAREJO DE CORDOVA.

Indorsed: ". . . Seen and answered, March 10, 1599. . . ."

## ROYAL ORDINANCES CONCERNING THE LAYING OUT OF NEW TOWNS

[*Editorial Note:* This translation of the document published in THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW for November, 1921, pp. 743-753, is here printed at the request of Mrs. Zelia Nuttall, who supplied the original document. It should be stated that the translation appearing in the above mentioned number of this REVIEW was not made by Mrs. Nuttall, but was supplied hurriedly at a time when Mrs. Nuttall could not be reached before printing because of her absence in Europe. In the original document as published, the following errata should be noted:

P. 743, (introduction, last line, for "plan" read "place".

P. 745, third line of Spanish, for "descubrimiento elegido de la", read "descubrimiento y elegido la".

P. 746, line 12 from top, for "treinta y dos [sic]", read "trescientos".

P. 746, line 11 from bottom, for "reedificado", read "edificado".

P. 746, line 5 from bottom, for "temple", read "templo".

P. 747, line 17 from top, delete comma.

P. 747, line 5 from bottom, for "poladores", read "pobladores".

P. 747, line 2 from end, for "açierte", read "açiente".

P. 748, line 12 from top, for "buyes", read "bueyes".]

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Royal Ordinances for the laying out of new cities, towns or villages.  
(Archivo Nacional, Madrid, Ms. 3017 Bulas y Cédulas para el  
Gobierno de las Indias)

San Lorenzo, July 3, 1573.

I the King

Ordinances for discoveries, new settlements and pacifications.

110. . . . After having made the discovery and selected the province, district and land to be peopled and the sites where new settlements are to be founded those who intend to settle are to proceed in the following manner:

On arriving at the locality where the new settlement is to be founded (which according to our will and ordinance must be one which is vacant and can be occupied without doing harm to the Indians and natives or with their free consent) the plan of the place, with its squares, streets and building lots is to be outlined by means of measuring by cord and ruler, beginning with the main square from which streets are to run to the gates and principal roads and leaving sufficient open space so that even if the town grows it can always spread in a symmetrical manner. Having thus laid out the chosen site the settlement is to be founded in the following form.

111. The chosen site shall be on an elevation; healthful; with means of fortification; fertile and with plenty of land for farming and pasturage; fuel and timber; fresh water, a native population, commodiousness; resources and of convenient access and egress. It shall be open to the north wind. If on the coast care is to be taken that the sea does not lie to the south or west of the harbor. If possible the port is not to be near lagoons or marshes in which poisonous animals and corruption of air and water breed.

112. In the case of a sea-coast town the main plaza which is to be the starting point for the building of the town, is to be situated near the landing place of the port. In inland towns the main plaza should be in the centre of the town and of an oblong shape, its length being equal to at least one and a half times its width, as this proportion is the best for festivals in which horses are used and any other celebrations which have to be held.

113. The size of the plaza shall be in proportion to the number of residents, heed being given to the fact that towns of Indians, being new are bound to grow and it is intended that they shall do so. Therefore the plaza is to be planned with reference to the possible growth of the town. It shall not be smaller than two hundred feet wide and three hundred feet long nor larger than eight hundred feet long and three hundred feet wide. A well proportionated medium size plaza is one six hundred feet long and four hundred feet wide.

114. From the plaza the four principal streets are to diverge, one from the middle of each of its sides and two streets are to meet at each of its corners. The four corners of the plaza are to face the four points of the compass, because thus the streets diverging from the plaza will not be directly exposed to the four principal winds, which would cause much inconvenience.

115. The whole plaza and the four main streets diverging from it shall have arcades, for these are a great convenience for those who resort thither for trade. The eight streets which run into the plaza at its four corners are to do so freely without being obstructed by the arcades of the plaza. These arcades are to end at the corners in such a way that the sidewalks of the streets can evenly join those of the plaza.<sup>1</sup>

116. In cold climates the streets shall be wide; in hot climates narrow, however, for purposes of defense and where horses are kept the streets had better be wide.

117. The other streets laid out consecutively around the plaza are to be so planned that even if the town should increase considerably in size it would meet with no obstruction which might disfigure what had already been built or be a detriment to the defense or convenience of the town.

118. At certain distances in the town smaller, well proportioned plazas are to be laid out on which the main church, the parish church or monastery shall be built so that the teaching of religious doctrine may be evenly distributed.

119. If the town lies on the coast its main church shall be so situated that it may be visible from the landing place and so built that its structure may serve as means of defense for the port itself.

120. After the plaza and streets have been laid out building lots are to be designated, in the first place, for the erection of the main church, the parish church or monastery and these are to occupy respectively an entire block so that no other structure can be built next to them excepting such as contribute to their commodiousness or beauty.

121. Immediately afterwards the place and site are to be assigned for the Royal and Town Council House, the Custom-House and Arsenal which is to be close to the church and port so that in case of necessity one can protect the other. The hospital for the poor and sick of non contagious diseases shall be built next to the church forming its cloister.

122. The lots and sites for slaughter houses, fisheries, tanneries, and such like productive of garbage shall be so situated that the latter can be easily disposed of.

123. It would be of great advantage if inland towns, at a distance from ports were built on the banks of a navigable river, in which case an endeavor should be made to build on the northern river bank, all

<sup>1</sup> An interesting example of the carrying out of these instructions can be seen at the southwestern corner of the principal square of the City of Mexico.

occupations producing garbage being relegated to the river bank or sea situated below the town.

124. In inland towns the church is not to be on the plaza but at a distance from it in a situation where it can stand by itself, separate from other buildings so that it can be seen from all sides. It can thus be made more beautiful and it will inspire more respect. It would be built on high ground so that in order to reach its entrance people will have to ascend a flight of steps. Near-by and between it and the main plaza the Royal Council and Town House and the Custom-house are to be erected in order to increase its impressiveness but without obstructing it in any way. The hospital of the poor who are ill with non contagious diseases shall be built facing the north and so planned that it will enjoy a southern exposure.

125. The same plan shall be carried out in any inland settlements where there are no rivers, much care being taken that they enjoy other conveniences requisite and necessary.

126. No building lots surrounding the main plaza are to be given to private individuals for these are to be reserved for the church, Royal and Town house, also shops and dwellings for the merchants, which are to be the first erected. For the erection of the public buildings the settlers shall contribute and for this purpose a moderate tax shall be imposed on all merchandise.

127. The remaining building lots shall be distributed by lottery to those of the settlers who are entitled to build around the main plaza. Those left over are to be held for us to grant to settlers who may come later or to dispose of at our pleasure. In order that entries of these assignments be better made a plan of the town is always to be made in advance.

128. After the plan of the town and the distribution of the lots have been made each settler is to set up his tent on his lot if he has one, for which purpose the captains shall persuade them to carry tents with them. Those who own none are to built huts of such materials as are available, wherever they can be collected. All settlers, with greatest possible haste, are to erect jointly some kind of palisade or dig a ditch around the main plaza so that the Indians cannot do them harm.

129. A common shall be assigned to each town, of adequate size so that even though it should grow greatly there would always be sufficient space for its inhabitants to find recreation and for cattle to pasture without encroaching upon private property.

130. Adjoining the common there shall be assigned pastures for team oxen, for horses, for cattle destined for slaughter and for the regular number of cattle which according to law, the settlers are obliged to have, so that they can be employed for public purposes by the council. The remainder of land is to be sub-divided into as many plots for cultivation as there are town lots and the settlers are to draw lots for these. Should there be any land which can be irrigated it is to be distributed to the first settlers in the same proportion and drawn for by lottery. What remains over is to be reserved for us so that we can make grants to those who may settle later.

131. As soon as the plots for cultivation have been distributed the settlers shall immediately plant all the seeds that they have brought or are obtainable, for which reason it is advisable that all go well provided. All cattle transported thither by the settlers or collected, are to be taken to the pasture lands so that they can begin at once to breed and multiply.

132. Having sown their seeds and provided accomodation for their cattle in such quantities and with such diligence that they can reasonably hope for an abundance of food, the settlers, with great care and activity are to erect their houses, with solid foundations and walls for which purpose they shall go provided with moulds or planks for making adobes and all other tools for building quickly and at little cost.

133. The building lots and the structures erected thereon are to be so situated that in the living rooms one can enjoy air from the south and from the north, which are the best. All town homes are to be so planned that they can serve as a defense or fortress against those who might attempt to create disturbances or occupy the town. Each house is to be so constructed that horses and household animals can be kept therein, the courtyards and stockyards being as large as possible to insure health and cleanliness.

134. Settlers are to endeavor, as far as possible, to make all structures uniform, for the sake of the beauty of the town.

135. The faithful executors and architects and persons who may be deputed by the governor for the purpose shall be most scrupulous in carrying out the above instructions and in hurrying both field labor and house building so that the town may be completed in a short time.

136. If the natives should wish to oppose the establishment of a settlement they are to be given to understand that the settlers desire to build a town there not in order to deprive them of their property but for the purpose of being on friendly terms with them; of teaching

them to live in a civilized way; of teaching them to know God and His Law by means of which they shall be saved. This shall be explained to them by the friars and clergy and persons deputed by the governor, by means of good interpreters. Attempts are to be made by all fair means to establish the settlement peaceably and with the consent of the natives. If, after many different attempts have been made to gain their consent the natives still withhold it then the settlers are to proceed to establish their town but are not to take any of the personal belongings of the Indians or to do them more hurt than what may be necessary in order to protect the settlers and enable them to build without interference.

137. While the new town is being built the settlers, as far as possible, shall try to avoid communication and intercourse with the Indians and are not to go to their villages or amuse themselves or disperse themselves over the country. Nor are the Indians to enter the circuit of the settlement until the latter is complete and in condition for defense and the houses built, so that when the Indians see them they will be filled with wonder and will realize that the Spaniards are settling there permanently and not temporarily. They will consequently fear the Spaniards so much that they will not dare to offend them and will respect them and desire their friendship. When the settlers begin to construct the town the governor is to appoint some one to take charge of the sowing and cultivating of wheat and vegetables so that the settlers can immediately employ these for their maintenance. The cattle are to graze and be tended in a safe place where they can do no injury to the cultivated lands or anything else belonging to the Indians. The aforesaid cattle and their offspring are to be at the service of the settlers and for their use and subsistence. . . .

ZELIA NUTTALL.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Mesta: A Study in Spanish Economic History, 1273-1836.* By JULIUS KLEIN, PH.D. Harvard Economic Studies, Vol. XXI. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920. Pp. xvi, 444. \$4.00.)

In this book, which was awarded the David A. Wells prize for the year 1917-18, Dr. Klein has made an analytical study of the organization, activities, and varied influences of the Castilian sheep owners' gild (*Honrado Concejo de la Mesta*), called the Mesta. Of the significance of this institution, he remarks, in one place (p. viii), "The long and active life of this body from 1273 to 1836 has been a notable and in many ways unique feature of Spanish economic history. For hundreds of years it played a vital part in the adjustment of problems involving overseas trade, public lands, pasturage, and taxation". In addition it is shown that its history presents vividly the six-century-long effort of a state to control the production and marketing of an essential raw material; that this institution was employed as a nationalizing and centralizing force to overcome the persistent traditions of particularism in the Spanish peninsula—political and social, as well as economic; that in committing the country to pastoral interests it contributed to agricultural decay; that in all probability it was a party to the expulsions of the Jews and the Moriscoes; and that so closely linked was it with the social and political factors that a study of the Mesta throws much informative and explanatory light on certain obscure aspects of the Spanish judicial, taxation, and municipal policies and practices. Despite its importance, the many controversies in which it participated, and the bitter criticism directed at it, the Mesta has never previously been studied after the methods of scientific research. Dr. Klein's is, therefore, a pioneer work. For it, he was admirably equipped after making an examination of the materials found in Spain, Italy, Paris, Berlin, and London. His work is, to a considerable degree, based on the archives of the Mesta, a collection of more than 62,000 manuscript items (p. 403), now for the first time used for such a purpose. His researches in different countries enable him to make comparative studies of the sheep raising industry.

The author divides his book into four general divisions. The first



is devoted to the internal organization of the Mesta, under which in appropriate chapters are considered the origin of the Mesta, the evolution of the practices connected with the sheep migrations, the use and control of the sheep highways (*cañadas*), the organization of the flocks, the marketing, for domestic and foreign trade, of wool, and the constitution of the Mesta itself—its officers and their election, duties, and privileges. In this part, the antiquity of the elements of the migratory sheep industry, existent in Spain “from Iberian and Visigothic times” is shown, followed by discussions of the pastoral customs of the Berbers and the methods of the medieval town *mestas* or assemblies for the disposal of stray animals. The climatic and topographic basis of sheep migrations is presented as fundamental. The chapters which treat of the routes of the sheep highways—with the centers or starting points in León, Segovia-Soria, Burgos-Logroño, and Cuenca—together with the customs developing around the annual migrations and the conflicts with local prejudices and laws are among the most interesting of the book. The chapter on the governmental organization of the Mesta, its codes and charters, its vested and stubbornly guarded privileges, shows how closely that institution came to be associated with the interests and policies of the crown both as an agency of mercantilism and an instrumentality of nationalization. The Mesta is here described as an efficient, harmoniously working machine with an internally democratic organization and procedure. It would seem to the reviewer that this chapter could have been placed with perhaps more logic and effect after that on origins.

The other three parts of the book on Judiciary, Taxation, and Pasturage might be considered under the general heading of the external relationship of the Mesta to the crown, the landowners, and the towns. In this division, also, the effective methods, the concerted action, of the Mesta are studied. These are seen “in the prosecutions of its itinerant legal staff [that is, for the protection of the flocks against extortionate tolls, pasturage rentals, and local encroachments on the sheep highways (pp. 62, 63, 98)], in its financial obligations to the crown, or in its collective bargaining with pasturage owners” (p. 62). The office of *alcalde entregador*, the Mesta’s chief judicial officer, is examined as to origin, growth of powers, and decline, the last being due in part to the establishment in the late sixteenth century of the *chancillerías* or appellate courts under royal control. The treatment of the subject of the royal taxation of the sheep industry is, it is believed, one of the ablest of the book. Being too complex and technical for brief analysis,

it must suffice for it to be said that the exploitation by the crown especially under the Hapsburgs and during the virtual bankruptcy of the seventeenth century, the forced loans, and the heavy expenses incident to the effort to retain the favors of the government, contributed to the decline of the Mesta. Concerning pasturage, some of the gravest charges were made against the Mesta, namely, that its practices resulted in or tended to bring about deforestation, rural depopulation, and agricultural stagnation. The agrarian interests aided by the towns and the non-migratory sheep raisers, made a slowly progressive fight against the Mesta's pastoral privileges. Finally its "pretensions of mastery over agrarian Castile" were overthrown in the notable work of Campomanes during the late eighteenth century. Among other phases of the great struggle between agricultural and pastoral interests, much attention is given to the complicated subject of enclosures.

Under Appendices (pp. 361-400), the author has printed illustrative extracts from town Mesta ordinances; royal concessions, commissions, and instructions; records of procedure from the courts of the *entregadores*; taxation ordinances; and credentials of Mesta representatives. There is included also a valuable glossary of terms, often uncommon, indicating local taxes levied on sheep. The critical chapter on bibliography is an excellent piece of work, thoroughly and carefully done. The work throughout is heavily documented with elaborate footnotes.

Dr. Klein has performed a service for the student of Spanish history. He has "added to the sum of available knowledge" in a "work of enduring value". He has opened up as having "tempting possibilities" and as being practically unexplored fields other than that in which he was primarily interested. It is hoped that his suggestions will be taken by scholars and followed with equal success.

W. W. PIERSON, JR.

*The Railroads of Mexico.* By FRED WILBUR POWELL, PH. D. (Boston: The Stratford Company, 1921. Pp. vii, 226. \$2.00.)

This volume is the result of investigations made while the author was a member of a group of students of Mexican conditions working under the auspices of Mr. E. L. Doheny. With it and the works published by Walter Flavius McCaleb,<sup>1</sup> Wallace Thompson,<sup>2</sup> and Chester

<sup>1</sup> *Past and Present Banking in Mexico*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1920; *The Finances of Mexico*, New York.

<sup>2</sup> *The People of Mexico: Trading with Mexico*; New York, 'Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1921.

Lloyd Jones,<sup>3</sup> we have before us the net results of the studies as made to date. It may be said of the group of books as a whole that they fall short of the ideal which animated the project in their description of the Mexican situation during the past decade, and in the scope and appeal to reason of their suggestions on reconstruction. This is not criticism of the authors. The reviewer knows all these gentlemen personally through association with them in the "Doheny Foundation," as it was erroneously styled, and he has the utmost respect for their scholarship, industry, and fitness for their tasks. But they were hampered by the unfortunate condition of Mexico during the time of their investigation, and still more so by the fact that the bases upon which their studies should have rested exist nowhere in any report, statistical tables, or other materials which might have made a survey of Mexican conditions approximately scientific in method or results. There were other accidental features of the investigation which militated against success, but these were largely overcome. These books do not bear out the popular suspicion that the study financed by Mr. Doheny was intended to demonstrate the necessity of armed intervention in Mexico. All of them voice the opinion that redemption must come from within, with outside financial and moral support.

In the present volume Dr. Powell sets forth compactly a statement of the essential factors in the Mexican railroad situation down to the spring of 1921. It is the result of several years of study, as is attested by the mass of material digested in well-organized form and by the ample bibliography which omits few if any essential sources of information. The author describes first the condition of the railroads during the revolution since the time of Díaz, and second the historical development of transportation in Mexico. He then discusses certain fundamental ideas and conclusions. Among these are a valuable discussion of the nature of a "concession", a sketch of the attitudes toward railroads held by successive governments for half a century, a discussion of the effects of the railroads on the country politically and economically, and explanations for the retardation of the roads and their unhappy present condition.

When the revolution began in 1910 the railroads nationalized by Limantour, five standard and five narrow-gauge lines, operated 8,392 miles. There were also the Tehuantepec line and eight independent lines, operating 3,883 miles. Since 1910, extensions have been scanty

<sup>3</sup>*Mexico and its Reconstruction*, New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1921.

and makeshift; repairs have been exigent only. All the systems suffered from violence during the revolution, which became a protracted fight for their control. Neither Dr. Powell nor anyone else has been able to state the total costs of construction, with certainty, estimate the benefits derived, nor depict the damages from revolution other than in estimative terms. American capital is chiefly concerned, and losses to ways are estimated at \$112,000,000. Hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of securities are also awaiting adjustment. This is not likely to come before European economic conditions become more stable, thinks Dr. Powell.

Several chapters give the essential data concerning the construction of the many lines of railway built. There is suitable discussion of the problems of extension, and of development of agriculture and commerce so as to make the railroads successful. There might have been accorded fuller notice of the unfortunate effects of divided administrative control, and of the destructive influence of graft and of labor agitation on the railroads. Graft is treated rather gingerly by most American writers on Mexico; they hesitate to wound sensibilities, or they remember the beam in the American eye. A kindlier frankness will promote a reaction which will help some efficient Mexican administrator to make public office a public trust; this is one of the chief essentials of the situation.

Dr. Powell's book is neatly printed. The index is carefully made and adequate; there is a map of indifferent utility. The bibliography is a valuable contribution.

HERBERT I. PRIESTLEY.

*Hispanic-American History, 1826-1920.* By WILLIAM WHATLEY PIERSON, JR., PH.D., Professor of History in the University of North Carolina. (New York: The Institute of International Education, Second Series, Bulletin No. 6, Syllabus No. VII. for International Relations Clubs, 1921.)

This syllabus is largely an amplification of the second half of the latest edition of Professor Pierson's *Syllabus of Hispanic-American History* published by the University of North Carolina. Many details have been added to the topics relating to the history of individual states, and the result is a marked improvement upon the earlier outline; for sufficient stress has thus been given to the distinctive features of even the least important nations to remove any excuse for confusion in the mind of the student. However, in a few instances the topics have been over-

loaded with personal names, which, because of insufficient time for study of the careers of the men to whom they belong, are likely to remain mere names to the student.

The reviewer feels, on the other hand, that place should have been given in the first part of the syllabus to a chapter on the historical reasons for the political weakness of the Hispanic-American states. There is opportunity for some consideration of this very important subject in chapter II, but it should have more prominence in any plan of study to be used by Anglo-Americans, who are, as a rule, quite ignorant of Spanish national and Spanish colonial history.

The bibliography, which is about twice as extensive as that given in the basic syllabus, is very valuable, and, on the whole, well selected. But no mention is made of Merou's *Alberdi*, Galdames' *Historia de Chile*, or Oliveira Lima's *Evolution of Brazil compared with that of Spanish-America and Anglo-Saxon America*, though many less worthy works are listed. Greater stress might also have been given to the *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union*, which is without doubt the best English-language periodical dealing with present-day Hispanic America.

The typographical work on the *Syllabus* is good, only two errors being noted by the reviewer—the misspelling of Andrada (page 9), and the omission of the word “new” from the title of Professor Shepherd's book, *Hispanic Nations of the New World* (page 22).

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

*Guide to Latin-American History.* By HALFORD LANCASTER HOSKINS, Assistant Professor of History and Public Law, Tufts College. (Boston, etc.: D. C. Heath & Co., 1922. Pp. x, 121.)

Interest in the history of Hispanic America has been demonstrated in recent years by the number of syllabi that have appeared, all of which have apparently been absorbed. Still another one has been added to the list by Professor Hoskins, which will appeal to those who know no Spanish, as its compiler has cited only books published in the English language. The *Guide* is divided into four main sections, namely: The Colonial Era of Latin-American History (subdivided into The European background; the era of discovery and conquest; and Spanish colonies and institutions in America); Evolution of the Latin-American Nations (subdivided into The struggles for independence; Rise of the South American republics; and Course of the northern Latin states and dependencies); Latin-American problems and collective development (subdivided into National growth of Latin states; Contemporary

social conditions; and Economic and industrial progress); and Pan-American and International Relations (subdivided into Evolution of American Policies; and Foreign Business and Trade Relations). Each of the subdivisions is expanded further.

Preceding the syllabus proper are a Selected, Classified Bibliography and a list of eight outline maps which are reproduced in the volume. The bibliography is suggestive and contains many excellent titles, and some mediocre and poor ones. It is to be regretted that the syllabus was published at about the same time as several volumes that have quite recently appeared, and which one would wish to see cited. It would seem that certain volumes that have been omitted should have been included, such as *Atlas América Latina*, published by The General Drafting Co., *Spain's Declining Power in South America*, by Moses; *Industrial Mexico*, by Middleton; *Straight Business in South America*, by Collins; *Trading with Mexico*, by Thompson; *Intervention in Mexico*, *Problems in Pan-Americanism*, both by Inman, and the same author's little book on Haiti and Santo Domingo; *The Railroads of Mexico*, by Powell; Morley's volume on Maya civilization; and Rowe's volumes on finances of South American countries during the war, which were published by the Carnegie Peace Foundation. Verrill's *Cuba, Past and Present* is cited in its edition of 1914 instead of the revised edition of 1920. On page 11 of the Bibliography, occurs an error evidently of proof reading, namely the ascribing of Bonsal's *The American Mediterranean* to Borchard. It is probably a good guess that the compiler cited Borchard's *Guide*, in his manuscript after Bonsal's work,) and the printer went astray. Other slight errors of proof reading occur. On p. 15, THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW is said to be published by the Board of Directors instead of by the Board of Editors. It should have been stated that *Inter-America* is published each alternate month in Spanish. On p. 16, the item under Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, is not fully explanatory. The bibliography contains no evaluation of the titles cited, and this is a serious lack, for the young student who uses this *Guide* should be warned against certain features of some of the books and his attention especially directed to others because of their excellence. The above are all defects that can be easily remedied in a second edition of this work which will undoubtedly be necessary. Limited as he was to books in English, the compiler has given on the whole a good list.

The suggestions for the use of the outline maps above mentioned are excellent, and the bibliographical references accompanying each

map show considerable research. The analysis of the topics in the syllabus is carefully done and there has been an evident desire to give a correct balance. It is a relief to have the compiler in his preface call attention to the value of the study of Hispanic America because the various countries of that region "are great nations in the making, having their own distinct types of institutions and culture, and, withal, a growing consciousness of self-dependence and strength", rather than because they offer "mere opportunities for commercial and financial exploitation". The reviewer enthusiastically endorses his assertion that "In a careful, systematic study of these budding nations we have the true germs of genuine Pan-Americanism". His *Guide* should have wide use, for it will reach those who know no Spanish, and while these persons must be the losers to a certain extent because they are unable to go direct to the master minds of Hispanic America, many of whose works have not been translated, they are here referred to material conscientiously compiled, which will provide them a systematic course of serious study and will prove not only valuable but timely. By this volume is made apparent once more the necessity for a good one or two volume text book of the history of Hispanic America.

The compiler, it should be noted, uses the terms "Hispanic America" and "Hispanic American" indiscriminatively with "Latin America" and "Latin American". It would have been better to have used the correct forms "Hispanic America" and "Hispanic American" throughout.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

*Manual of Collections of Treaties and of Collections relating to Treaties.*

By DENYS PETER MYERS, A.B., Corresponding Secretary and Librarian of the World Peace Foundation. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1922. Pp. xlvii, 685. \$7.50.)

This important bibliography, the work of ten years, was "printed at the expense of the Richard Manning Hodges fund". Because it is expected (and with full warrant) that the volume will have an international use, the title, preface, contents, and a few other parts have been given in both English and French. The compiler's "aim has been to present for ready reference the contractual and conventional material of international relations down to the outbreak of the World War". The work is divided into four parts, namely: General Collections (A. The ancient; B. Mediaeval; C. Modern); Collections by States; Collections by Subject-matter; and International Administration. The

compiler has succeeded admirably in the task he set himself, for he has produced an epoch-making bibliography. One is quite ready to concur in his statement that "It may reasonably be claimed that in a broader sense the book covers the field of history" (preface, p. viii). These titles laboriously gathered together will save many hours of work to men of various professions who will have to consult it. Especially at this stage of the world's history, the volume is assured of a good welcome.

Each of the four sections contains material relating to Hispanic America, especially the last three. With regard to published diplomatic correspondence, the compiler notes that "special attention has been given to the Latin American reports or *Memorias* of the ministers of foreign relations. Of these", the compiler "has sought to give as complete a view as possible, for they have not been published in formal series, and, being practically never available in complete sets, are easily lost to sight" (preface, p. xii). Indeed, the titles relating to Hispanic America are among the most valuable in the book, and cover a great variety of subjects. Among these, it is sufficient to mention in addition to the countries of Hispanic America, such subjects as "Pan American Union for the protection of Intellectual and industrial property", "South American Congress on private international law", and the "Pan American Conferences". The collections referring to the several countries are usually treated under subheads about as follows: Bibliography; Treaty Collections; Laws, registers, etc.; Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Special topics.

The work has been done with meticulous scholarly care. One wishes that the compiler's preface and text preceding each section had been made longer, and a somewhat fuller explanation of work methods and arrangement given. But this work adds another to that already long list of books which we cannot do without; and the uses to which it will be put will be numerous.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

*The Land beyond Mexico.* By RHYS CARPENTER. (Boston: Richard G. Badger, © 1920. Pp. 181. \$2.50.

This is a book of human interest, written by a man who looks out upon life with a vision half poetic, half artistic, and who has the added gift of a delicate humor. And too he is an American archaeologist, who journeyed through parts of Guatemala, San Salvador, and northern Honduras in order to familiarize himself with the Central American Maya ruins—so that he has had a purpose sufficiently serious to com-



mend him to serious students of Hispanic America. He takes us with him through these lands, which he has described in a manner that many a writer might envy, and we ride with him through tropical sun and tropical rains on his mule Colorada, over paths and through jungle, and fording mountain rivers, enjoying with him the wonderful scenic effects of Central Americans lands. A dozen times a day, he brings us in touch with the sublime and the ridiculous, and always with a lightness of touch and a real sympathy that allows us to enter into his mood and feel with him the emotions that moved him while on his unique journey.

One can learn many things about the country and its people from this pleasing book. The ruins described are those both of Maya and Spaniard, the old civilization and the new, both alike fallen into decline, but the influence of the latter abiding in the made-over life of the modern dwellers of these central lands. This book will be one which will be read in after years, when perhaps political and economic factors shall have fashioned from the small Central American states one single Central American Union, and when perhaps the character of their people, or of a portion of them, shall be quite otherwise than it is today. For, if a new Central American nation is to arise from the small republics now sprawled out between the oceans south of Mexico, it must base its success to no mean degree on economic factors—and bananas, coffee, and other products must help to spell its prosperity or its woe. But if changes must come, for this region, it is to be hoped that the glory of its early Maya period will not be lost to sight. Among the economic features to be developed should be that of the tourist trade, although men of the poetic vision of the author of this book, will sigh for a return of present conditions when they can enjoy the solitudes away from the honk of the motor car.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

*The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860.* By SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1921. Pp. xv, (3), 401. Port., Illus., Index. \$5.00.)

Sailormen from Massachusetts (and incidentally from other parts of New England) have made history for the United States in many parts of the world. They have been the forerunners of our international relations in various parts. Consequently a maritime history of Massachusetts could scarcely be written without reference to Hispanic America for American ships and American men (even before the creation of the

United States of America) knew well the ports south of the Rio Grande and in the West Indies. In search of trade primarily, these men sailing in ships of Salem, Boston, and other ports of Massachusetts, did far more than trade, for they carried new political doctrines to other lands and brought back news of those lands to the United States. They helped the Spanish colonies often to obtain their independence from Spain. They were men of action, and great disseminators of knowledge as well as carriers of wares.

Mr. Morison has told the story of the Massachusetts sailors and their ships in an interesting manner. He shows them trading at Valparaiso, Buenos Aires, and other ports, trading extensively in Brazilian coffee, running up and down the east and west coasts of South America almost at will. They traded in Honduras for logwood and mahogany, in Buenos Aires for wool, hides, and other products, and sold ice, sheetings, and other American and foreign products in return in many a port of South America and the West Indies. The material in this book is supplemented by that gathered out of old newspapers by Charles Lyon Chandler and published in several articles in *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*. The author suggests that historians seeking economic origins of the Monroe Doctrine may find them in the northwestern fur trade and the early intercourse with South America.

The volume is attractively printed and bound and the illustrations are well chosen. Page numbers are carried at the bottom of the page instead of in the usual place, and this militates against ready reference.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

JOHN CASPER BRANNER

The United States has lately lost a great scientific mind, and Brazil a good friend—in fact, one of the best the country ever had. He possessed the true Pan American spirit, not a spirit of control, political, economical, or even intellectual, but a spirit of sympathy. One of the fields of his researches was Brazilian geology, together with Brazilian paleontology, and he became not only a specialist on the subject but a master. The list of his works is very long, yet none exceeds in importance the Geological Map of Brazil, which he completed not long before his demise. His labors on this map had extended over many years, and had always been direct leading him to travel extensively along the coast and in the interior, so that Brazil with its large expanse of territory became as familiar to him as the state of Arkansas.

This intimate acquaintance with the land and its inhabitants is chiefly responsible for the deep attachment he experienced for both—an attachment which extended to the language of Brazil. The President Emeritus of Leland Stanford Jr. University was the author of a Portuguese grammar for the use of English-speaking peoples, and was a clever literary connoisseur of Portuguese and Brazilian writers, of whose works he had gathered a choice collection, dealing especially with history, geography, folklore, and economics. That collection is rightly considered one of the best in the United States. It was always a pleasure to him to add a book to that collection and to undertake one more trip to his dear Brazil. He could not understand the two countries—his own and the South American one—without being bound by ties of a warm friendship.—MANOEL DE OLIVEIRA LIMA, Washington, D. C., March, 1922.

Miss Agnes Blake Poor, who was born at Bangor, Maine, November 10, 1842, died at Brookline, Massachusetts, February 28, 1922, in her eightieth year. Miss Poor translated the Argentine novel *Amalia* into English and collected numerous translations of Hispanic American authors which were published in her *Pan American Poems* (Boston Richard G. Badger, 1917). These translations are from every Hispanic

American country and the book is of much value both for the study of literature and of history. At the request of the Department of State, Miss Poor served as a member of the reception committee of the Pan American Scientific Congress of 1915.

Plans for the Historical Congress which is to open in Rio de Janeiro on September 7, 1922, are proceeding satisfactorily as has been stated recently by Dr. Max Flenias, the director, Dr. Soutomaior and Sr. Carlos da Silveira Carneiro the secretary of the organizing committee of the congress. A large number of monographs has already been presented by Brazilian historians but as yet a fewer number has been received from abroad. The time set for receiving papers has been fixed at June 30, but it is expected that most foreign delegates will bring their monographs with them. However, the commission should be apprised as early as possible of the titles of the papers which will be sent. The organizing session will be held on September 2, according to present schedule, and the congress opened on September 7. It has been learned that the *Historical Geological, and Ethnographical Dictionary and Encyclopedia of Brazil* which is being prepared by a commission of specialists is well toward completion. This will consist of five volumes of about one thousand pages each, well equipped with maps. There are said to be separate sections on the history and geography of each state. With respect to this congress it is said that all Hispanic-American countries and seven European countries have signified their intention to participate. A number of papers will be presented by scholars of the United States, and there will be several delegates from the universities of this country. Papers may treat any phase of American history or Brazil-American relations, but it is preferred by the committee appointed by the American Historical Association that all papers concern themselves with the history of Brazil or Brazilian-American relations. Those who are interested in this congress may address the managing editor of this REVIEW for further particulars. It is hoped that there will be a hearty response from American scholars and that there will be an excellent sheaf of historical papers. The United States should be well represented by delegates at this important celebration.

#### ANCIENT PERUVIAN TEXTILE DESIGNS

[In reproducing the following article from *Commerce Reports* of July 17, 1918 (No. 166) which was taken by that periodical from *British and*

*Latin American Trade Gazette*, London, May, 1918, it will be interesting to note the comments on Peruvian Textiles by Dr. Denman W. Ross, of Harvard University. Dr. Ross is an authority on this subject and his remarks (taken from a private communication) are of distinct value. He says: "The Peruvian textiles are very interesting and some of them are beautiful. There is an important collection at the Natural History Museum in New York. We have some fine examples at the Peabody Museum here at Harvard and at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Perhaps the largest collection of all is at Berlin. It was made by Messrs. Reiss and Säubel who published a work on the subject of ancient Peruvian art, with admirable plates. I have not seen any of the reproductions [see the article below] and have no idea whether they are good or bad. I can hardly imagine them suitable for present purposes. It might be possible to reproduce the color effects without imitating the archaic character of the designs. The weaving is beautifully done. It is tapestry weaving and resembles in some respects those early Coptic fabrics produced in Egypt from the third to the tenth century of our era. There are embroideries also among the Peruvian fabrics of great interest. The best lot of these is in the Boston Museum. They date from the sixth or seventh century of our era and are perhaps the earliest examples in existence."]

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One of the most interesting movements in the textile-factory world is the adoption of the ancient designs of Peru. Those who have traveled in the land of the Incas and have been privileged to see something of their old civilization must have been impressed with the multiplicity and beauty of their artistic designs, still preserved in almost their pristine beauty on the walls of their ruined buildings and in the remnants of cloths woven in the days of long ago. It is quite possible to recognize the extreme delicacy of the textile fabrics which the ancients wove with the most primitive implements. The elegance and harmony of the designs have appealed with so much force to certain manufacturers in the United States that some of the leading cotton printers have adopted them as their patterns for the coming year. There is no question that when produced these prints will enjoy an immense vogue, and not in Latin America only. They are bound to appeal with equal force to customers of the Old World, and thus British mills might with advantage take note of an innovation which is probably destined to have the influence of a revolution.

The advantage possessed by our North American rivals in the South American cotton-print market lies principally in the fact that they have in their museums a number of excellent specimens of the original Inca designs, while the American School of Design, which has taken up with enthusiasm the idea of adopting them, has for some time past been forming as complete a collection of the patterns as it has been possible to get together, with the result that the coming season is likely to see the production of a number of really beautiful designs. There exists no reason why British manufacturers should not enjoy similar privileges. Copies of the Peruvian fabric designs can be obtained and their colors reproduced with fidelity.

The ancients of Peru, by a curious coincidence—for there could not possibly have been any intercourse with their contemporaries in India and Egypt—seem to have used much the same kind of processes in printing their designs upon the fabrics they manufactured. Both Herodotus and Pliny, among early historians, have told us about the cloths of vegetable fiber made by the ancients; but in all likelihood the fabrics of the Peruvians were of even a more remote date. In some respects the methods of to-day bear strong resemblance to the older practice. The chief difference consists in the patterns now being engraved upon copper rollers and several colors being printed at one time. Just as to-day the coloring matter of dyes is not affixed by merely printing it on the material but is secured by means of a substance known as mordant, so did the Peruvians make use of a property which caused the dye to adhere and to withstand a test of thousands of years' wear and tear.

Experts have declared that in the direction of technical and artistic value the designs in question have no equal. They must undoubtedly have been wholly original, and could have owed their inception to no outside influences. The very isolation of the huge Peruvian Empire, anterior to the invasion of the Spaniards, shows that the people must have been dependent entirely upon their own efforts and creative genius. The existing examples of their fabrics show a wide range, from the crudest to the finest of woven webs, composed of the most delicate filaments that human hands have probably ever fashioned, while the enduring quality of their handiwork has been abundantly proved.

The fact that the idea of using these singularly attractive designs for cotton prints, destined alike for the markets of the Old and the New World, has "caught on" is proved by the knowledge that in response to an offer of competitive designs made by some North American cotton

mills, no fewer than 1,000 separate drawings, among them being some exquisite examples, have been sent in. These drawings have been on public exhibitions and appear to have attracted an immense amount of attention and almost universal approval. Moreover, these very novel designs have made their appearance at a very propitious time, since, owing to the war, it has proved impracticable for the great textile industry to secure decorative suggestions from the customary sources. Not only have the ancient Peruvian designs been adopted for cotton prints, but a number have been or will be used upon silk material and for ribbons, etc. There is no doubt that modern photography and machinery will be enabled to do full justice to the charming schemes of drawing and color that distinguish these long-concealed and completely forgotten Peruvian fabrics.

It would seem that the discovery, which is bound to lead to such far-reaching results, comprises some thousands of pieces of cloth resplendent in coloring and ornamented with a medley of designs as beautiful as they are original. The marvelous technique shown by the untrained but highly gifted artists has occasioned astonishment among the mill owners of North America, although those who have traveled in Peru, especially to Cuzco and in Mexico—perhaps to the ruins of Mitla—would feel no such surprise, having seen the almost unlimited range of designs which the remnants of the vast buildings therein still bear upon their shattered walls, over their moldering doorways, and even (in this case resembling the Egyptian temples and royal tombs of Edfu) in underground passages where the light of day could never have penetrated.

One design that is now being reproduced and is likely to prove "a good seller" is taken from a rich poncho or horseman's cloak, in shape not unlike the same kind of garment that is worn by most cavaliers in Spanish countries to-day. The drawing is in squares, and some of these show human figures—greatly distorted but highly attractive—animals, and geometrical designs. Some of these are very intricate and will bear a close and minute scrutiny, while others are bold and daring in their delineation and coloring.

In regard to coloring, it is doubtful whether any modern cotton printing can excell them. The dyes employed are very brilliant, and, what is more, they have retained their original luster and radiancy to the fullest extent. The dye used was evidently a vegetable product, the secret of which has passed with the users. No Gobelin tapestry can show such perfect coloring as some of these Peruvian productions. In another case the design is made up of a repetition of a single figure, but

in varying color combinations. No two figures are precisely similar, yet each is a perfect color combination in itself, while the whole fabric is perfectly harmonious.

Yet a third design is that of an Inca warrior attired in a poncho, one hand gripping a battle-ax, while the other grasps by the hair the heads of his slain enemies. Here, again, one is reminded of the pylon of Shishank, the Pharaoh of the Exodus, that is still to be seen by travelers in Egypt. The same figure is multiplied repeatedly in varying colors, the units of the design being used as convenient forms for the massing of color rather than to display any particular beauty of line. Singularly beautiful are the color combinations in this design, proving beyond a doubt that the knowledge of values was highly developed among these ancient people. Very brilliant greens and yellows, reds and blues, upon brown and black backgrounds, are the predominant features of these designs, and when reproduced upon materials of cotton or silk they are bound to attract the public favor. e x

Space will not permit of any fuller description of the drawings themselves, but the character of the material deserves a passing mention. Some of the Peruvian fabrics contain nearly 300 weft yarns to each inch, and, as is the case with modern weaving, the quality of the cloth seems to have been determined by the number of warp threads per inch, the number of weft threads or picks per inch, and the diameter of counts of warp and weft threads. Difficulty was found in counting the weft of these fabrics with the ordinary testing lens. It was necessary to clamp a single inch of the cloth upon a platform of a dissecting microscope and pick off the weft yarn with a needle.

It is astonishing to remember that the fabrics were produced upon a primitive form of loom. This consisted of two sticks, one at the top and the other at the bottom, over which the warp threads were stretched. About these threads were the loops or "leashes" that raised them for the passage of the shuttle, taking the place of the heddles in the modern heald or harness. Several cross rods were generally used to keep the threads of the warp in position, with a batten to drive home the thread of the woof. Although this simple apparatus was in universal use, and the Peruvians could have known of no other, the samples of their wonderful fabrics which have come down to us show that many of them contain three different classes of decoration, the change from one type to another apparently being under the complete control of the operator.



The term "Hispanic America" is coming more and more into regular use. It has been adopted in a number of the universities of the United States in place of "Latin America". However, the latter term still is used almost generally in government circles in this country because it was early adopted as the official title. Hence, there is a Division of Latin American Affairs in the Department of State and a Latin American Division in the Department of Commerce. It is to be hoped that these two departments will see fit one day to make the term "Hispanic America" official.

Mr. Edward Perry, who has had a long experience as an editor in Central America, and whose article on the Constitution of the Central American Union appeared in the February number of the *REVIEW*, suggests in a recent communication that there is need for some capable writer to prepare a thorough study of the racial character and origin of Hispanic America, giving all the information available as to the number of each race and of the mixed races in Hispanic American countries. Such an article, Mr. Perry thinks, might be made to show a little of the difficulties progressive, highminded leaders of Hispanic America are compelled to strive against, and thus give the world a more fair understanding of them. Mr. Perry also suggests that all statesmen of large influence in Hispanic America should read Dr. Samuel Guy Inman's paper on "The Monroe Doctrine and Hispanic America", which appeared in the November issue of this *REVIEW*.

Dr. Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., of Hamilton College, will again teach in the summer school of the University of Vermont this year. He will give courses in the historical geography of the United States, the teaching of history, and the history of the British Empire.

Professor Halford L. Hoskins will teach Hispanic American history at Western Reserve Summer school in Cleveland again this year. The course in Hispanic American history which Professor Hoskins gives at Tufts College has become one of the standard one-semester courses and is listed regularly.

C. K. Jones, Bibliographer of this *REVIEW* has been appointed assistant professor of Romance Languages at George Washington University. He has been teaching in that institution for some time. Mr. Jones still retains his position in the Library of Congress.

Notre Dame University has scheduled no courses in Hispanic American History for the summer months of 1922. Rev. John F. O'Hara is listed to teach Mercantile Credit and Foreign Exchange. Rev. Hugh O'Donnell, who was majoring in Hispanic American History in Notre Dame has shifted his major to United States History, making Hispanic American History his minor.

No classes in Hispanic American History will be given at Chicago University next fall during the absence of Professor J. Fred Rippy who will, however, teach through the summer months.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

### CHILEAN LITERATURE: A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LITERARY CRITICISM, BIOGRAPHY, AND LITERARY CON- TROVERSY. PART II

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"Crítica literaria. *Iris*". pp. 1-24. An article published in *La Unión*, June 29, 1918, by P. N. Cruz. Unfavorable criticism of the language employed by Inés Echeverría de Larraín "*Iris*", faults of composition in her works and lack of unity. Discussion of some of her works.

"El movimiento literario. Crónica bibliográfica semanal. *La Hora de Queda, Novelas Cortas*, por *Iris*", pp. 25-35. Published by Omer Emeth in *El Mercurio*, June 17, 1918. After discussing the "fermento de anarquía" in feminine literature, he takes up *La Hora de Queda* and criticizes especially the author's tendency to philosophise.

291. Chacón, Jacinto. El abate Molina. *Rev. de S. A.*, II, 631-4.

292. Chiappa, Víctor M. *Biblioteca Medina, I. Noticias acerca de la vida y obras de Don José Toribio Medina*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Lit. y Enc. Barcelona, 1907. 8°. LXIX p.

A concise life of Medina, with abundant dates and general descriptions of the books published by him.

293. ——— *Biblioteca Medina, II. Noticia de los trabajos intelectuales de Don José Toribio Medina*. Santiago de Chile, Tall. Particular de Enrique Blanchard-Chessi, 1907. 8°. 276 p.

A bibliography of his publications to 1907, with indices of this and the preceding work.

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295. "Daguerre." Retratos contemporáneos. Don Miguel Luis Amunátegui. *Los Tiempos*, Jan. 27, 1888.

296. Dávila Larraín, Benjamín. *La crónica de 1810*, por M. L. Amunátegui. *Rev. (1) Chil.*, V. 317-9.

297. ——— *Narraciones históricas*, por M. L. Amunátegui. *Ibid.*, V. 573-4.

298. ——— *La crónica de 1810, Vol. II.*, por M. L. Amunátegui. *Ibid.*, VI. 614-15.

Dávila Silva, Ricardo. ("Leo Par"). The following articles were published in *La Nación*, Santiago, unless otherwise noted.

299. ——— A. Donoso, *La sombra de Goethe*. Jan. 16, 1917.

300. ——— Crítica literaria. Omer Emeth. Jan. 21, 1917.

301. ——— Ernesto de la Cruz, *Epistolario de O'Higgins*. Feb. 11, 1917.

302. ——— Ismael Parraguez. Feb. 25, 1917.
303. ——— Francisco Zapata Lillo, *De mi tierra, cuentos chilenos*. Mar. 12, 1917.
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306. ——— *Pequeña antología de poetas chilenos contemporáneos. Introducción de A. Donoso*. Apr. 8, 1917.
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308. ——— Evolución de la crítica literaria. Apr. 23, 1917.
309. ——— Baldomero Lillo, *Sub Terra*. Apr. 30, 1917.
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313. ——— Ismael Parraguez, *La desinteligencia, Novela*. June 25, 1917.
314. ——— Respuesta de don Marcial Martínez al discurso de don Enrique Matta Vial. Academia Chilena. July 2, 1917.
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330. ——— La literatura en 1917. Jan. 1, 1918.
331. ——— Fernando Santiván, *En la montaña, (Novelas cortas)*.—Manuel M. Daroch, *Amor de madre, poema*.—Mariano Sarratea Prats, *Motivos*. Jan. 7, 1918.

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334. ——— Gustavo Balmaceda Valdés, *Desde lo alto, novela*. Feb. 18, 1918.
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339. ——— Eduardo Barrios, *Un perdido, novela*. July 1, 1918.
340. ——— J. T. Medina, *El disfrazado autor del Quijote . . . fué Fray Alonso Fernández*. July 8, 1918.
341. ——— Cristóbal Colón y su detractor el marqués de Dosfuentes, por Enrique Sanfuentes y Correa. July 8, 1918. Also published in *Rev. (8) Chil.*, V. Aug. 1918.
342. ——— Joaquín Cifuentes Sepúlveda, *Esta es mi sangre*.—Ambrosio Montt y Montt, *Astillas*—Sady Zañartu, *Danzarina de fuego*.—*Revista de Artes y Letras*, II, No. 3.—Blanca Ossa de Godoy. July 15, 1918.
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364. ——— Luis Rodríguez Velasco. Jan. 27, 1919. Also in *Rev. (S) Chil.* VII. 145-51.
365. ——— *Papeles de don Vicente Claro. Volúmenes 19 y 20 del Archivo de O'Higgins. Precedidos de una biografía . . . y anotados por Carlos Vicuña Mackenna*. Feb. 10, 1919.
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373. Díaz Garcés Joaquín. Discurso . . . *Bol. de la Acad. Chil.*, II. 171-200.

The introduction deals with Manuel Blanco Cuartín.

374. Donoso, Armando. *Los nuevos*. F. Sempere y Cía. Valencia. [1913]. 8°. XXIII + 236 p. + Ind.

Pages XI-XXIII of the introduction bear the title "Ligeras consideraciones sobre nuestra literatura". "Los nuevos" are: Baldomero Lillo, Francisco Contreras, Víctor Domingo Silva, Omer Emeth (Emilio Valase), Jorge González, Rafael Maluenda, Carlos Pezoa Véliz, Fernando Santiván, Carlos Mondaca and Ernesto Gusmán. Their works and literary tendencies are analyzed in an interesting and spirited manner. Literary influences are discussed and biographical details given when they will throw light on the author's works.

375. ———<sup>†</sup> Francisco Bilbao, su vida y su obra. *Rev. Chil. de H. y G.*, VII. 148-96; VIII. 41-93.

376. ——— *Bilbao y su tiempo*. Santiago de Chile, Talleres de la Empresa Zig-zag, 1913. 8°. 206 p. + Ind.

Similar to the work mentioned above, with the addition of the chapter "El Ideólogo" and following. A well documented biography of Bilbao and a clear analysis of his works.

"El joven escritor. . . ha tratado de refundir el hombre con su época para darnos la imagen más viviente posible. Ante todo hay que reconocer la devoción razonada del crítico, su serenidad de criterio frente al 'espectáculo' más movido, más tumultuoso de un espíritu y una época. Donoso manifiesta predilección por la frase ondeante, empenachada de adjetivos cromáticos, movida por verbos de gran vigor". Review in *Rev. Chil. de H. y G.*, IX, p. 490.

377. ——— *Vida y viajes de un erudito. Recuerdos de don José Toribio Medina*. Santiago de Chile, Emp. Zig-zag, 1915. 22 p. Illus.

An interesting account of the life and travels of J. T. Medina. Numerous anecdotes acquaint us with the character of the man and the circumstances under which many of his books were written.

378. ——— Barros Arana y Mitre. *Rev. Chil. de H. y G.*, XVII. 423-52.  
——— *Barros Arana y Mitre. Una amistad literaria*. Santiago, Imp. Universitaria, 1916. 8°. 38 p. Reprint of the above.

379. ——— Un libro de Santiván, *La hechizada. Los Diez*, No. 5, III, 263-7.

380. ——— Vida de Pedro Antonio González. Introduction (pp. 7-52) to P. A. González, *Poetas*. . . . *Edición recopilada, con introducción y notas, por Armando Donoso*. Santiago, Editorial Chilena, 1918. 8°. 427 p.

381. ——— Semblanza de Francisco Contreras. Introduction to F. Contreras, *La luna de la patria y otros poemas*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. y Enc. Victoria. 8°. 50 p. + Ind., erratas.

382. ——— *La senda clara. Prologo de Leopoldo Lugones*. Buenos Aires, Cooperativa Editorial Limitada, 1919. 8°. 257 p. + Ind.

"Un profesor chileno: Enrique Molina", pp. 249-57.

383. "D. R. C." Don Eduardo de la Barra. *Los Tiempos*. Jan. 8, 1880.

384. Ducoing, Arcadio. Discurso de contestación. . . . *Anal. de la Univ.*, CXLIV. 94-104.

Deals with the literary works and folk-lore studies of J. Vicuña Cifuentes.

385. Eastman, Nataniel. Historia nacional. *Historia General* por D. Barros Arana. Erradas apreciaciones. *Rev. (3) Cat.*, XXXIV. 765-8.

386. Echeverría de Larraín, Inés ("Iris"). *Hojas caídas*. Santiago, Imp. Universitaria, 1910. 145 X 80 mm, 303 p. [*Rev. de Bibl.*]

"Casa grande, la última novela de D. Luis Orrego Luco". pp. 73-81.

"Un remordimiento por Shade. (A mi amigo Omer Emeth.)" pp. 109-23.

387. Edwards, Alberto. Estudio crítico y biográfico de José Joaquín Vallejo (Jotabeche). J. J. Vallejo, *Obras, precididas de un estudio*. . . . [*Biblioteca de Escritores de Chile. Vol. VI.*] Santiago, Imp. Barcelona, 1911. 8°. LIII + 567 p.

"En un bien escrito estudio, lleno de novedad, el prologuista nos relata la vida del insigne escritor, sus pobrezaas de los primeros años, las aventuras de su vida de empleado gubernativo, el asomo de sus inclinaciones literarias, sus polémicas con los emigrados argentinos, especialmente

con Sarmiento; sus escarceos por los campos de la política militante; su vida en la Isla del Desierto, Copiapó; su llegada á la cúspide de su reputación literaria, y ya, en sus últimos años, su misión diplomática fracasada, no por su culpa, por supuesto; su muerte y algunos rasgos íntimos de muchísimo interés en sus relaciones de familia.

No se limita, el Señor Edwards, á la pura biografía, sino que estudia por cuenta propia la labor literaria de Jotabeche, abundando en ella, aunque sí, con muy simpática admiración á veces excesiva". *Rev. Chil. de H. y G.*, 1911, pp. 518ff.

388. — Enrique Tagle Rodríguez, *Liberales y conservadores*. *Rev. (S) Chil.*, II. Mar. 1918.

389. "E. J." Don Alberto del Solar. *Rev. (S) Cat.*, Aug. 16, 1913.

390. Eliz, Leonardo ("Rodófilo"). Rasgos biográficos del Señor P. P. Figueroa. See Figueroa *Miscelánea biográfica*. . . .

391. — *Musas chilenas. Silueta lírica y biográfica sobre los más distinguidos poetas nacionales, desde Pedro de Oña hasta la presente época; con un apéndice en que figuran cerca de 200 bardos con breves noticias literarias*. Santiago, Imp. de la Unión, 1889, 8°. 370 p. + Nota.

A poem about each author followed by a hasty biographical sketch.

392. — *D. Eduardo de la Barra. Rasgos biográficos para servir de introducción á sus poesías*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. de la Unión, 1889. 8°. 63 p.

After a few introductory pages setting forth the remarkable range of de la Barra's prose, Eliz gives a sketch of his life interspersed with extracts from newspapers and book reviews. Anecdotes illustrating his loftiness of character follow, and finally, a discussion of his political ideas and public career.

De la Barra's poems were published under the title *Rimas chilenas*. . . . precedidas de la biografía del autor por Leonardo Eliz. Paris, Garnier Hnos, 1890. 12°. LV+323 p. + Ind., (7).

393. — *Un héroe del trabajo. D. Francisco Galleguillos L [orca]. Edición ilustrada con un retrato*. Valparaíso, Imp. de la Lib. del Mercurio, 1893. 8°. 68 p. + Carta al autor por Víctor J. Arellano.

A somewhat eulogistic account of Galleguillos' many-sided life as journalist, author, and physician. An enumeration of his works and some idea of their nature follow.

394. — *Reseña histórica del Liceo de Valparaíso desde 1868 hasta 1912. Obra premiada en el certamen abierto por este establecimiento para celebrar el Cincuentenario de su fundación*. Valparaíso, Lit. é Imp. Moderna de Scherrer y Herrmann, 1912. 8°. 154 p. + Pauta de las ilustraciones.

Includes biographies of Joaquín Villarino (pp. 51-3), Eduardo de la Barra (pp. 67-8 and pp. 100-1), and Carlos Rudolf (pp. 104-5).

395. — D. Clemente Barahona Vega. See *Corona fúnebre a la memoria de*. . . .

396. "E. M." (Initials of Ernesto Montenegro). *Cantos del camino*, por Luis Contado. *Juventud*, I. No. 3, 112-14.

397. Errázuriz, Crescente. *Los orígenes de la Iglesia Chilena i el Señor Amundtegui*. *Est. de Ch.*, VI. 743-7, 753-9, 769-75, 787-95, 805-10, 829-35, 851-6, 869-73, 877-81, 885-89.



398. ——— La bula de Alejandro VI i el señor Amunátegui. *Ibid.*, VII. 406-9, 417-21, 435-9, 449-53, 469-77.
399. ——— Introduction to R. Mandiola, *F. Bilbao y sus panegiristas*, (q. v.)
400. ——— Contesto una carta. La novela histórica. La historia nacional. *Est. de Ch.*, IX. 610-17.
401. Errázuriz, Isidoro. *Historia de la administración Errázuriz. Precidida de una introducción que contiene la reseña del movimiento y la lucha de los partidos, desde 1883 hasta 1871*. Valparaíso, Imp. de la Patria, 1877. 8°. XI + 448 p. (Unfinished).

A rare book. " . . . hace de paso algunas observaciones sobre el movimiento literario en Chile que Lastarria creyó conveniente rectificar. Este es el origen de uno de los más bellos libros [*Recuerdos literarios* by Lastarria] que han salido de la pluma de nuestro autor". Fuen-salida. *Lastarria y su tiempo*, II. 127-8.

402. Errázuriz, Matías. Pedro Balmaceda Toro, *Estudios y ensayos literarios*. *Rev. del Prog.*, III. 764-8.
403. Espejo Varas, Luis. Don José Victorino Lastarria. Su obra de literato. (Discurso). *Rev. del Prog.*, II. 292-300.
404. *Estudio sobre la Iglesia en Chile, desde la Independencia, por la Academia Filosófica de Santo Tomás de Aquino establecida en el Colegio de San Ignacio. Obra escrita en homenaje á la Santidad de León XIII*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Cervantes, 1887. 4°. 195 X 115 mm. (8) + XVI + 416 + (4) p.

"Entre otros, contiene esta obra interesantes estudios sobre el Ilmo. Sr. D. Manuel Vicuña y Larraín, El Ilmo. y Rdm. Señor doctor don Rafael V. Valdivieso, Don José Hipólito Salas y otros". Note from R. A. Laval.

405. Eyzaguirre, José Ignacio Víctor. *Historia eclesiástica, política y literaria de Chile*. Valparaíso, Imp. del Comercio, Junio, 1850. 3 vols. in 4°. XXXII + 513 p; 406 p. + VII; and, 258 p.

Volumes I. (pp. 454-94) and II. (pp. 282-335) deal with literature. The author, little concerned with biography, gives characterizations of the men and considerable criticism of their works

406. Feliú Cruz, Guillermo. M. L. Amunátegui Reyes, *Don Bernardo O'Higgins*. *Rev. Chil. de H. y G.*, XXIV. No. 28.
407. Fermádoiz, José Luis. Estudios críticos. Don José María de Pereda. *Rev. (3) Cat.*, X. 255-62, 503-7.
408. ——— Crítica literaria. *La Colombia*, poema épico por Esteban Muñoz Donoso. *Ibid.*, XII. 525-40, 608-25, 692-706, 765-74, 846-60, 931-928; XIII. 134-42, 196-206, 369-77.
409. ——— Crítica literaria. Reparo sin reparo. *Ibid.*, XIV. 268-9.
410. Fernández Concha, Rafael. Fray Domingo Aracena. Discurso . . . *Anal. de la Univ.*, 1876. 316ff.
411. Fernández Montalva, Ricardo. *Julio Bañados Espinosa*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. de los Debates, 1891. 8°. 80 p. Port.

Lavish in praise but containing a great deal of biographical detail. Includes a list of the published works of Bañados Espinosa.

412. "F. G." Armando Donoso, *La sombra de Goethe*. *Rev. (S) Chil.*, I. Apr. 1917.
413. Figueroa, Pedro Pablo. *Galería de escritores chilenos*. Santiago, Imp. y Lit. Ahumada, 37, 1885. 4°. 269 p. + Ind. (2).

Summary biographies, which are frequently lacking in dates, place of publication of works etc. The men included are J. M. Belmaceda, D. Barros Gres, E. Corvalán Zomosa, R. Pacheco, F. A. Suberosseaux, J. Bañados Espinosa, G. Silva, M. A. Hurtado, R. Vial, J. Chaigneau, G. Blest Gana, H. Larra, R. S. Arancibia, E. de la Barra, D. María Hidalgo, A. Carmona, P. Castillo Arancibia, F. Jorquera, A. Orrego Luco, R. Valensuela, J. R. Allende, E. Riosco Vidaurre, P. A. Pérez, M. Rojas Delgado, E. T. Caviedes, P. del Río, M. Vargas, F. Velasco, Z. Rodríguez, M. Blanco Cuartín, V. Gres, R. Escuti Orrego, M. Concha and J. E. Corvalán Alvarado.

414. ——— *Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna. Opúsculo histórico*. Talca, Imp. de la Tribuna, 1885. 18°. 39 p. [Anrique i Silva, *Ensayo de una bibliog.*]
415. ——— *Apuntes históricos sobre la vida i las obras de don Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna*. Santiago, Imp. Victoria, 1886. 8°. 48 pp. [Anrique i Silva, *Ensayo* . . .]
416. ——— *Publicistas contemporáneos. Estudios biográficos de escritores modernos de Chile*. Santiago, Imp. Victoria, 1886. 4°. 45 p.

Biographies of Isidoro Errázuriz, Marcial Martínez, Liborio E. Bribea, Francisco Jorquera del Canto, Elías Cousiño, and J. A. Soffia.

417. ——— *Periodistas nacionales. Rasgos biográficos de algunos escritores contemporáneos*. Santiago, Imp. Victoria, 1886. 4°. 129 p. + Ind.

Biographies of J. Arteaga Alemparte, P. Nolasco Préndes, R. Mandiola, M. J. Lara, Román Frits, Carlos Segundo Lathrop, Ildefonso del C. Vásquez, Rafael Egaña, Mauricio Cristi, D. Arteaga Alemparte, Martín Palma, Pedro Ruiz Aldes, and others.

418. ——— *Diccionario biográfico Chileno. (1550-1887)*. Santiago, Imp. Victoria, 1887. 4°. 449 p. + Erratas.
- *Diccionario* . . . *Segunda edición*. Santiago, Imp. Victoria, 1888. 4°. 665 p.
- *Diccionario* . . . *Tercera edición*. Santiago, Imp. del Correo, 1891. 4°. 211 p. + Ind.

This edition was never completed.

- *Diccionario* . . . *Cuarta edición. Ilustrada con retratos*. Santiago, Imp. i Enc. Barcelona, 1897-1902. 3 vols in 4°. 446 p. + Ind. + Erratas; X + 563 p. + Ind. + List of portraits; and, 569 p. + Ind.

"La crítica ha señalado en el *Diccionario* la ausencia de egregios contemporáneos; la inclusión de numerosos individuos no merecedores de serlo; exageración de elogios y no pocas censuras injustas; frecuentes inexactitudes en las fechas; y desigualdad en el criterio como norma de apreciación política y literaria". Amunátegui Solar, *Boquejo*. . . p. 230.

With all its errors the dictionary (now a relatively rare book) is a remarkable compilation and remains the greatest achievement of its kind in Chile.

419. ——— *Páginas truncas*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. de la Unión, 1887. 8°. 86 p. + Ind.

- "El poema homérico", pp. 5-24. In praise of B. Vicuña Mackenna.  
 "Enrique Ruiz Tagle", pp. 40-50. Short sketch of his life with discussion of some of his poems.  
 "Juan Gonzalo Matta", pp. 51-55. A biography.  
 "Leonardo Ellis", pp. 56-70. Life and works, with numerous quotations.  
 "La poesía popular. Pedro Díaz Gana", pp. 70-86. A biography, sparing in dates, of the author of *Memorias de Sebastián Cengalla*, which Figueroa considers the most ingenious and original work of Díaz Gana.

420. ——— *Esbozos literarios*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. de la Unión, 1887. 8°. 109 p. + Ind.

Biographies of Modesto Molina, A. Valderrama, Antonio Urzár Gárfias, G. Matta Goyeneche, M. A. Hurtado and Rosario Orrego de Uribe. In the case of Vicuña Mackenna the author devotes himself largely to eulogy, and in that of Manuel A. Hurtado he gives a judgment of his poetry with quotations.

421. ——— *Estudios históricos sud-americanos*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. de la Unión, 1888. 8°. 206 p. + Ind.

"Lastarria. Reminiscencias póstumas", pp. 31-43. Scattered notes on his life and works.  
 "Eusebio Lillo. El poeta de las flores", pp. 56-68. Life and works without critical judgment.  
 "Ramón Pacheco", pp. 74-84. Scattered notes on his life and works.  
 "Historiadores de Chile", pp. 121-51. Enumeration of the principal historians beginning with Ercilla with some facts about their lives.

422. ——— *Miscelánea biográfica americana. Estudios históricos, críticos y literarios*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. de la Unión, 1888. 8°. 216 p.

"Raços biográficos del señor Pedro Pablo Figueroa", by Leonardo Ellis, pp. 17-48.  
 "Mercedes Marín del Solar", pp. 49-51.  
 "Rosario Orrego", pp. 51-3.  
 "Escritores chilenos (Los pseudónimos)", pp. 81-96. Important writers abroad who have used pen names and an enumeration of Chilean writers who have done the same.  
 "La prensa en Chile. Los cronistas de diarios", pp. 164-70. Mention of the most important with some indication of their characteristics.

423. ——— *Pensadores americanos*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. de El Correo, 1890. 8°. 137 p.

"José Antonio Sofía. Una obra póstuma", pp. 71-7. Discussion of *Víctor Hugo en América* [Bogotá, 1889], with a few details of Sofía's life.  
 "Novelistas contemporáneos de América", pp. 79-87. Characterization in general terms of the principal novelists of his time.

424. ——— *Prosistas i poetas de América*. Bogotá, Casa Editorial de J. J. Pérez, 1891. 8°. XI + 437 p. + Ind., (2).

This work is preceded by "Raços históricos de Pedro Pablo Figueroa, . . ." by Baulio Martínez Loyola, pp. 1-8.

Figueroa here deals with forty-one writers, mentioning their most important works but with few dates and an excessive use of general terms.

425. ——— *Glorificación póstuma del ilustre patricio don Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Victoria, 1891. 8°. 20 p.

426. ——— *Historia de Francisco Bilbao. Su vida i sus obras. Estudio analítico e ilustrativo de introducción a la edición completa de sus publicaciones en*

*forma de libros, de cartas i artículos de periódicos.* Santiago de Chile, Imp. Vicuña Mackenna, 1894. 8°. LXX + 237 p. + Ind. + Erratas.

——— *Historia de Francisco Bilbao. . . Segunda edición aumentada i corregida.* Santiago de Chile, Imp. de El Correo, 1898. 8°. IX + 253 p. Port.

——— *Francisco Bilbao, Obras completas editadas i con una introducción por Pedro Pablo Figueroa.* Santiago, 1897-1898. 4 vols. in 8°.

Vol. IV. p. 59-253, contains Figueroa's biography of Bilbao.

This biography is rather diffuse, with frequent quotations from Manuel Bilbao whose treatment of the subject is followed to a considerable extent. Figueroa's attitude is favorable to Bilbao but is not so violent toward the Church as that of Manuel Bilbao.

427. ——— *Los poetas del pueblo. El poeta popular Pedro Díaz Gana. Poesías i memorias de Sebastián Cangalla.* Santiago de Chile, Imp. Moderna, 1900. 8°. 69 p.

"El poeta popular . . ." is essentially the same as the study published in *Páginas truncas*. To these pages are added mention of various poems of the same genre, and further details of the life of Díaz Gana.

428. ——— *Reseña histórica de la literatura chilena, 1540-1900. Tercera edición.* Santiago de Chile, Imp. Lit. y Enc. Barcelona, 1900. 8°. 61 p.

The first edition appeared in the 1888 edition of the *Diccionario*; the second in Lagomaggiore's *América Literaria* and was reprinted under the title:—"Crónicas patrias. La literatura chilena. Boquejo histórico, desde la colonia hasta nuestros días, escrito para la América Literaria, como introducción de la sección chilena, . . . Santiago, Imp. de El Correo, 1891. X + 50 p.

429. ——— *Don Eduardo de la Barra. Las dos riquezas: la fortuna y la inteligencia. Estudio escrito para la Velada Fúnebre de la "Asociación de la Prensa" en homenaje a la memoria de don Eduardo de la Barra, el domingo 8 de Mayo de 1900.* Santiago de Chile, Imp. Lit. y Enc. Barcelona, 1900. 8°. 37 p. Port.

A discussion of the abstractions "fortune" and "intelligence", with no facts of importance about E. de la Barra.

430. ——— *Historia del popular escritor Don Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna. Su vida, su carácter i sus obras. . . Cincuenta años de la historia política, literaria i social de Chile. Tomo primero.* Santiago de Chile, Imp. Lit. i Enc. Barcelona, 1903. 4°. IV + 165 p.

Ports. of Pedro Félix Vicuña and Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna.

Contains many facts scattered through a disordered collection of eulogy, reminiscences, genealogy and political history. As far as I am aware Vol. II. did not appear.

431. ——— *Antología chilena. Prosistas y poetas contemporáneos. La intelectualidad en Chile.* Santiago, Imp. Enc. i Lit. La Ilustración, 1908. 8°. 407 p. + Ind., (3). Port.

In "La intelectualidad" (pp. 13-36) Figueroa divides the literary history of Chile into four periods: the Colonial period, period of Independence, the intellectual movement of 1842, and the movement which produced the political evolution of 1870. Mention is made of the princi-

pal authors in each period although the most space is given to the latter. The modern movement is passed over briefly.

The anthology, which includes sixty authors, begins with Eusebio Lillo and includes only the moderns. A short biography accompanies each group of selections.

432. Fuenzalida Grandón, Alejandro. *Valor histórico de la novela social contemporánea (Memoria premiada en el certamen universitario de 1887)*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Nacional, 1889. 4°. VIII + 62 p. + Ind.

The introduction contains the report of the committee composed of B. Dávila Larraín, Vicente Gres and G. Renó-Moreno. This report was also published in the *Anal. de la Univ.*, 1889, 54-7; and the *Valor histórico* . . . in the same volume, pp. 121-82.

This work is divided into three parts: "Caracteres de la novela y de la historia"; "La novela en algunas literaturas contemporáneas"; and, "Materiales históricos de la novela sociológica". Pages 38-40 touch upon Chilean literature. The author explains the scarcity of novels in Chile as due to the absence of a stimulus of public opinion and the lack of material encouragement from the government or private individuals. After a brief discussion of the traits of Chilean novelists beginning with Barros Gres and Blest Gana he arrives at the conclusion that all Chilean novels manifest the author's failure to study conscientiously the history of Chile.

433. ——— *Lastarria y su tiempo. Su vida, obras é influencia en el desarrollo político é intelectual de Chile. (Obra premiada en el certamen Varela de 1889)*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Cervantes, 1893. 4°. VII + 464 p.

This was also published in Vols. LXXXI., LXXXII., and LXIV., of the *Anales* . . .

- *Lastarria. . . Segunda edición*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Lit. y Enc. Barcelona, 1911. 8°. 2 vols. XII + Juicios críticos, XXXIV. + 381 p.; and, 400 p. Port.

The committee composed of D. Barros Arana, B. Dávila Larraín, and Valentín Letelier judged this the best of the three submitted because in their opinion it manifested greater impartiality, calmer criticism, a more finished study of social conditions and a clearer style. This "informe" was published in the *Rev. del Prog.*, 1890.

"Una de las biografías más extensas de las que se han escrito en Chile . . . para su trabajo [el autor] ha podido disponer, además de las obras del mismo Lastarria, que él mismo como nadie conoce, . . . de una cantidad de documentos relativos á tan importante personaje, lo cual lo ha puesto en situación de estudiarlo de la manera más íntima . . . [El] segundo tomo comprende, además una extensa bibliografía en que se da razón detallada de las obras políticas, científicas y literarias de Lastarria." Review of the second edition by R. A. Laval, in *Rev. Chil. de H. y G.*, I. 333.

434. ——— *Vida de Domingo Faustino Sarmiento*. *Anal. de la Univ.* LXXXIV, p. 683 ff., p. 791 ff., and p. 1139 ff.

435. ——— *Historia del desarrollo intelectual en Chile, 1541-1810. Enseñanza pública i cultura intelectual*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Universitaria, 1903. 8°. VII + 576 p.

A history of secondary instruction, the education of women and scientific studies in Chile.

436. Fuenzalida, Enrique Amador. *Galería contemporánea de hombres notables de Chile (1850-1901). Obra ilustrada con retratos. Tomo I*. Colaborador, Gustavo Acosta C. Valparaíso, Imp. del Universo de Guillermo Helfman, 1901. 8°. 356 p. + Ind., (2), Erratas.

Among the literary men who figure in this volume are Luis Barros Borgoño, M. L. Amunátegui, Federico Errázuriz Zañartu, and Carlos Walker Martínez. No other volumes appeared.

437. Galleguillos G., Carlos D. *Política y literatura. Obra póstuma editada por el Centro Radical "Manuel Antonio Matta" de Santiago*. Santiago, Imp. Latina, 1914. 8°. 202 p.

In the "Corona fúnebre" (pp. 3-31) are a few scattered facts about the author. Articles relating to Chilean literature are: *Sombras*, poems by Alamiro G. Miranda, pp. 55-61; and *Brisas del Norte*, poems by Nestor Rojas Villalobos, pp. 63-66.

438. Gallo, Ángel C. *Filosofía de Andrés Bello*. Published in *Suscripción de la Academia de Bellas Letras* . . .
439. Gallo, Pedro L. Jose J. Vallejo. In *Suscripción de la Academia de Bellas Letras* . . .
440. Gamucio, Rafael B. *Francisco Bilbao y sus panejiristas*, por Rómulo Mandiola. *Est. de Ch.*, XII. 328-33.
441. García, Lautaro. *Un perdido*, por Eduardo Barrios. *Juventud*, I. No. 1, 53-4.
442. García Reyes, Antonio. *Discurso pronunciado . . . al incorporarse á la Facultad de Leyes de la Universidad, en el elogio de su predecesor Don Francisco Bello*. Santiago, Imp. de Julio Beliu i Ca., 1853. 8°. 30 p.

Also published in *Anal. de la Univ.*, 1853, 185-97.

443. Garmendia Reyes, Rafael. *El tribunal de honor*, drama en tres actos i en prosa de don Daniel Caldera. *Est. de Ch.*, XIII, 847-57.
444. González Errázuriz, Francisco. Observaciones al primero y segundo capítulos de la *Historia General de Chile* del Señor Diego Barros Arana. *Rev. de A. y L.*, XIII. 519-30.
445. González, Marcial. Don Salvador Sanfuentes. Estudio literario i político a él relativo. Discurso pronunciado. . . en su incorporación a la Facultad de Humanidades, el 3 de abril de 1861. *Anal. de la Univ.*, XVIII. 497-506; and; *Rev. del Pacíf.*, 479-89.
446. Grez, Vicente. El lirismo y el romanticismo en voga. *Rev. (I) Chil.*, XI. 47-54.
447. Guerra, J. Guillermo. *Sarmiento. Su vida i sus obras. (Obra premiada por el Consejo de Instrucción Pública de Chile, i publicada bajo sus auspicios)*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Elzeviriana, 1901. 8°. VIII + 359 p. + Erratas. Port.

A full account of Sarmiento's varied activities in Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Europe, and the United States, with an appreciation of his works.

448. ———. Un héroe de paz. Don Miguel Luis Amunátegui. (Lectura hecha en el Ateneo de Santiago, el viernes 20 de Junio). *Rev. Nueva*, VI. 301-15.
449. Guevara, Tomás. *El libro Raza Chilena* . . . [Crítica]. Temuco Enc. . . . Alemana, 1905. 4°. 73 p. [*Rev. de Bibl.*].
450. ———. Bulnes, *Guerra del Pacífico*. *Rev. Chil. de H. y G.*, XI. No. 15.
451. ———. La etnología araucana en el poema de Ercilla. *Anal. de la Univ.*, CXLII. 485-503, 743-66; CXLII. Second Semes. 149-72; CXLIII. 163-98, 319-64, 623-40; CXLIV. 169-203; CXLV, 437-66; CXLVI. 125-8, 613-721.

452. Guimaraes Junior, Tomás. Luis Rodríguez Velasco. S. A., I. 439ff.  
 453. Guíñasú, H. R. *Los frailes en Chile al través de los siglos*. Santiago, Imp. Universitaria, 1909. 8°. 351 p. Port.

Lavish in praise and none too abundant in concise facts. The following studies concern Chilean literature. "Sebastián Díaz", pp. 75-9; "Justo Donoso", pp. 100-18; "Domingo Aracena", pp. 119-31; "Juan Agustín Lucero", pp. 149-52; "Raymundo Errázuriz [Crescente Errázuriz]", pp. 153-6; "Los Escritores (Jesuitas)", pp. 217-23; "Simón de Lara", pp. 251-3; "Armengol Valensuela", pp. 269-73; "Pedro Nolasco Neira y Cañas", pp. 275-88; "Fray Cerda B.", pp. 280-96; "Juan de la Cruz Infante", pp. 321-5.

454. Gumucio V., Rafael Luis. Biografía de Carlos Walker Martínez. *Rev. (3) Cat.*, IX. 533-40.  
 455. Gutiérrez, Juan María. [Argentine]. Carta sobre Francisco Bilbao. *Rev. (2) de Sant.*, II. 26-8.  
 456. Guzmán, Ernesto A. *Repiques*, por Fray Apenta; *Adán*, por Vicente Huidobro. *Los Diez*, I. 77-9.  
 457. ———. *Claridad*, por D. de la Vega; Nuestra antología y sus críticos. *Ibid.*, IV. No. 8, 349-50.  
 458. Herrera, Guillermo. *Suscripción de la Academia de Bellas Letras a la estatua de Don Andrés Bello*. *Est. de Ch.*, IX. 79-80.  
 459. Hernández, Pablo. Lastimosa defensa de una causa no buena. *Rev. (3) Cat.*, XXI. 39-42, 466-77, 551-68, 636-48, 719-32, XXII, 425-6.

A series of articles attacking "Los Obispos de Chile y los Jesuitas", published by Roberto Lagos in *Rev. (3) Cat.*, XIX and XX.

460. *Homenaje fúnebre a la memoria del eminente tribuno, poeta i jefe del radicalismo chileno don Guillermo Matta*. Taltal, Imp. i Enc. de C. Schleede, 1900. 8°. 96 p. Port.

An account of the funeral, press notices, poems to Matta's memory, etc., with scattered biographical details. The biography from Figueroa's *Diccionario* is inserted, pp. 12-23.

461. *Homenaje a Valentín Letelier. Sesión del Ateneo de San Bernardo destinada a honrar la memoria de este sabio eminente. Septiembre 14 de 1919*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. El Progreso, 1920. 8°. 44 p. Port.

This volume contains a fairly large number of biographical details.

462. *Homenajes a Zorababel Rodríguez*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Santiago, 1912. 4°. 187 p. Port.

An account of the placing of his portrait in the *Centro Conservador*, speeches pronounced on that occasion, appreciations by various authors, editorials by Z. Rodríguez and newspaper articles in praise of him.

463. Hübner, Carlos Luis. *Guitarrazos*, por Alfredo Irrarrázaval Zafartu. *Rev. del Prog.*, III, 362-77.  
 464. Huneeus Gana, Jorge. Revista literaria. *Alberto el poeta*, por Adolfo Urzua Rozas.—*El 21 de mayo, canto a los mártires de Iquique*, por Alfredo Irrarrázaval Z.—*Tradiciones y leyendas*, por P. P. Figueroa.—*Fotografías de bolsillo*, por Washington Allende S.—*El Batallón Arica 4° de línea*, por J. Domingo Amunátegui Reyes.—*Recuerdos literarios*, por J. V. Lastarria. *Rev. de A. y L.*, III. 464-80.

465. ——— Revista literaria. *Obras escogidas* de Manuel A. Hurtado. *Ibid.*, IV. 81-4.  
 466. ——— *Ventura*, por Alejandro Silva de la Fuente. *Ibid.*, IV. 478-88.  
 467. ——— *Cuadro histórico de la producción intelectual de Chile. Publíquese este trabajo como introducción á la Biblioteca de Escritores de Chile . . .* [Santiago, Imp. Barcelona, 1910.] 8°. XVI + 880 p.

" . . . una vasta nómina de autores y de obras, ornamentada con epítetos impersonales y con juicios de un irritante banalidad . . . Toda la obra descansa sobre la base, harto efímera y deleznable, de una serie de artículos que . . . publicó el señor Huneeus años atrás in la prensa diaria . . . Carece de método, confunden hechos y épocas, no tiene bibliografía, con frecuencia cita de memoria y con grandes errores los nombres de los autores y los títulos de los libros". Review by E. Matta Vial in *Rev. Chil. de H. y G.*, No. 1, 1911, pp. 146-7.

"Conozco pocos libros que revelan mayor ignorancia que éste de la materia de que pretende ocuparse. Aquello es enorme, fabuloso, inaudito. De las obras chilenas que allí se mencionan el Señor Huneeus no ha leído, seguramente, ni una milésima parte: de las revistas y diarios que cita á cada paso, tal vez muy pocos. En cuanto á las fechas y datos históricos que nos ofrece, creo que apenas se habrá preocupado de verificar media docena". E. Astorquiza, *Juventud*, II, No. 7, p. 128.

468. ——— Don Manuel Antonio Matta. See *Corona fúnebre á la memoria de . . .*  
 469. Huneeus, Roberto. *Don Alberto Blest Gana y la novela histórica*. Paris, Lib. Española de Garnier Hermanos, 1897. 8°. 79 p.

A discussion of historical novels in general, followed by an analysis of *Durante la Reconquista* with illustrative selections.

470. ——— Biografías de Justo y Domingo Arteaga Alemparte. See D. and J. Arteaga, *Los constituyentes de 1870*, (1910 edition).  
 471. Hurtado y Arias, E. G. Antonio Bórquez Solar [*Campo litrico, versos*]. *Rev. Nueva*, III. 219-28.  
 472. *In Memoriam. Julio Bañados Espinosa. Homenaje de sus amigos i correligionarios en el primer aniversario de su muerte ocurrida el 17 de febrero de 1889*. Alberto Martínez, Editor. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Moderna, 1900. 8°. 290 p. + Ind.

In addition to the usual press notices, etc. there is a biography of Bañados Espinosa by Ricardo Fernández Montalva (pp. 10-90).

473. Irrázaval, Ramón Luis. José Miguel Infante. Discurso . . . *Anal. de la Univ.*, 1845, 76ff.  
 "Iris" See Inés Echeverría de Larraín.  
 474. Irisarri, H. de *Opúsculos literarios y críticos* de Don Andrés Bello. *Rev. (I) de Sant.*, IV. 57-67.  
 475. "Jotavé". Crítica literaria. *La Marejá* [drama in verse by Antonio Orrego Barros]. *Rev. (S) Cat.*, XX. 376-82.  
 476. König, Abraham. Biografía de J. Joaquín Vallejo. Introduction to *Colección de los artículos de . . . publicados en varios periódicos bajo el pseudónimo de Jotabeche, 1841-1847*. Valparaíso, Imp. del Deber, 1878. 8°. XXX + 316 p.

A life of Vallejo and a characterisation of his writings. M. L. Amunátegui is given as his principal source of information.



477. ———— *La Araucana*. p. VIII-XVIII of Ercilla, *La Araucana. Edición para uso de los chilenos con noticias históricas, biográficas i etimológicas puestas por Abraham König*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Cervantes, 1888. 4°. LV + 196 p.

This study was also published in the *Rev. del Prog.*, I, 400-29.

478. ———— Biography of Ercilla. *La Araucana. Edición para uso de los chilenos* . . . p. XIX-XXXII.
479. Lagarrigue, Juan Enrique. La teología i el positivismo, o don Zorababel Rodríguez juzgando a don José Victorino Lastarria. *Rev. (I) Chil.*, VI. 309-24; VII. 309-23.
480. Lagos, Roberto. Contra réplica á Pablo Hernández (*q. v.*). *Rev. (S) Cat.*, XXI. 317-21, 825-31.
481. Lamas García, Eduardo. Con motivo de la publicación de la *Crónica de 1810 (Tomo III)*, por M. L. Amunátegui. *Rev. (S) de Ch.*, II. 63-4.
482. ———— Don Guillermo Matta. Apuntes . . . *Ibid.*, III. 97-106.
483. ———— *La evolución de la historia* por Valentín Letelier. *Ibid.*, IV. 54-6.
484. ———— Don Eduardo de la Barra. Apuntes . . . *Ibid.*, IV. 225-8.
485. ———— *Desarrollo hispano-americano*, por Paulino Alfonso. *Ibid.*, V. 302-5.
486. ———— Poesías de Samuel A. Lillo. *Ibid.*, V. 123-4.
487. Larraín, Juan. Introduction to *Artículos escogidos* de Manuel Blanco Cuartín (*q. v.*).
488. Lastarria, Demetrio. Idea sobre nuestra literatura histórica (Influencia de Bello). Published in *Suscripción de la Academia de Bellas Letras* . . .
489. Lastarria, José Victorino. Literatura chilena. Novela de Alberto Blest Gana titulada *Aritmética en el amor*, a la cual la Facultad de Humanidades, en sesión del 6 del corriente, adjudicó el premio de la lei. Informe de la comisión [Lastarria and M.L. Amunátegui] encargada de juzgar éste i demás trabajos presentados al certamen de la espresada facultad. *Anal. de la Univ.*, XVII. 1860, 999-1006. Also published in *Obras Completas*, Vol. XI.
490. ———— Informe [J. Blest Gana and Lastarria, committee] sobre el Juicio de algunos poetas hispano-americanos, de los señores Miguel Luis y Gregorio Víctor Amunátegui. *Anal. de la Univ.*, XVIII. 756-9; *Rev. del Pacíf.*, III. 31-4; and *Obras Completas*, XI.
491. ———— Juicio del Viage á Atacama, por R. A. Philippi. *Anal. de la Univ.* 1861, 558ff.
492. ———— Recuerdos del Maestro [Bello]. Published in *Suscripción de la Academia de Bellas Letras* . . . and in *Obras Completas*, XI.
493. ———— Recuerdos literarios. *Rev. (I) Chil.*, X. 428-531; XI. 5-46, 161-84, 338-53, 481-531; XII. 5-31, 321-51, 465-504, XIII. 5-41, 145-224.
- *Recuerdos . . . Datos para la historia literaria de la América Española i del progreso intelectual en Chile*. Santiago, Imp. de la República, 1878. 8°. 658 p.
- *Recuerdos . . . Segunda edición. Revisada i adornada con retratos de los principales literatos nacionales i extranjeros*. Santiago de Chile, Lib. de M. Servat. [Leipsig, Imp. de F. A. Brockhaus], 1885. 8°. 605 pp.

Also published in *Obras Completas*, X.

"Puede decirse que éste es el libro más conocido de Lastarria en Chile. Es el que ha llamado más la crítica porque se ha querido ver en él la más supina de las pretensiones la más audaz de las vanidades..."

La verdad es que hai que estimar sus *Recuerdos* solo como una fase de nuestra historia literaria nacional, relativa a la participación individual que le cupo desempeñar . . .

El error capital del autor de las *Recuerdos* nace, a nuestro entender, de considerarse siempre i en todo momento con la misma suma de poder intelectual . . .

Si se quiere hallar una rectificación de los juicios de Lastarria [sobre Andrés Bello] no habría sino que revisar el trabajo del mismo Lastarria titulado 'Recuerdos del Maestro' i publicado tres años antes en el libro de la Academia de Bellas Letras . . .

Lastarria se encarga de demostrar hasta la saciedad estas verdades [que el movimiento literario está íntimamente correlacionado con el político] . . . El medio social también ha sido considerado por Lastarria en la evolución de las ideas literarias . . ." Fuensalida, *Lastarria y su tiempo*, II. 128-44.

494. ——— Mérito de las obras de Soffia. *Anal. de la Univ.*, 1886, 369ff; and in *Obras Completas*, XI.
495. ——— Algo de arte política, literaria y plástica. *Rev. de A. y L.*, XI, 70-96.
496. ——— *Obras Completas. Vol. X. Recuerdos literarios* . . . Santiago de Chile, Imp. Lit. i Enc. Barcelona, 1912. 8°. 585 p.
497. ——— *Obras completas. Vol. XI. Estudios literarios. Segunda serie. I. Estudio sobre los primeros poetas españoles. II. Don Cristóbal Valdés. III. Juicios críticos. IV. Cuadros de viajes.* Santiago de Chile, Imp. Lit. i Enc. Barcelona, 1913. 8°. 580 p.

"Don Cristóbal Valdés", pp. 49-55. A short account of the life and works of Valdés, first published in *El Diario de Valparaíso*, Oct. 6, 1883, two days after his death.

"Informe sobre el Juicio crítico de algunos poetas hispano-americanos de los señores M. L. i G. V. Amunátegui", pp. 56-64.

"La novela de Alberto Blest Gana *Aritmética en el amor*", pp. 67-79. States the motives which actuated the University to award a prize for a novel, analyses at some length the unsuccessful entry, *Judith*, and more briefly the *Aritmética*.

"Recuerdos del Maestro", pp. 83-105. Recollections of Andrés Bello.

"Literatura dramática. Dictamen del jurado [A. Valderrama, A. Orrego Luco and Lastarria]", pp. 109-34. This was also published in the *Anal. de la Univ.* 1883, LXIV, as well as in the second edition of the *Recuerdos*. An analysis of five plays submitted, awarding the prize to *Luis Carrera, ó la Conspiración de 1817*.

"José Antonio Soffia. Poeta chileno", pp. 137-61. Also published in the *Rev. de A. y L.*, VI, 161-88 and in pamphlet form, Imp. Cervantes, 1886, 30 p. [Note]. A study read at a meeting of the Faculty of Philosophy, Humanities and Fine Arts, Apr. 4, 1886, in memory of Soffia. It consists of an analysis of his poetry, quoting in full *Las dos hermanas*, a poem published in Bogotá and not known in Chile at the time this article was written, and concluding with a sketch of Soffia's life.

"Informe de la comisión [Lastarria, D. Barros Arana, and M. Blanco Cuartín] encargada de juzgar las obras presentadas al certamen literario promovido en 1887 por el Sr. Federico Varela", pp. 165-220. This was also published in the *Antología de obras premiadas y distinguidas*. Santiago, Imp. Gervantes, 1887. This literary contest included the following themes: 1. "Canto épico á las glorias de Chile en la Guerra del Pacífico". 2. "Poesías líricas [in the style of Bécquer]". 3. "Tratado de versificación castellana destinado á la enseñanza". 4. "Un estudio político referente á Chile". 5. "Estudio de costumbres nacionales". 6. "Colección de fábulas originales, en verso".

"Algo de arte política, literaria i plástica", pp. 223-51. In the section devoted to literature Lastarria discusses the poetry of his day and realism in literature.

498. Latorre, Enrique C. Don Jorge Huneeus. See Tondreau, *Á la memoria de . . .*

499. Laurencín, Marqués de [Spaniard]. La edición de la *Araucana*, por J. T. Medina. *Rev. Chil. de H. y G.*, X. No. 14.
500. Laval, Ramón. *Lastarria y su tiempo* por A. Fuenzalida Grandón, Tomo II. *Rev. Chil. de H. y G.*, II. No. 2.
501. L[azo], O[legario]. Lacunza y su obra según el Pbo. Miguel R. Ursua. *Rev. (S) Cat.*, Nos. 330, 331, 334, May to July, 1915.
502. Lenz, Rodolfo. Sobre la poesía popular impresa de Santiago de Chile. *Anal. de la Univ.*, XCLIII. 511-622.
503. Letelier, Valentín. Los nuevos ideales (Con motivo de *Las nuevas siluetas* de Don Pedro N. Préndes). *Rev. del Prog.*, I. 380-4.  
"Licenciado Vidriera". See Luis David Cruz.
504. Lillo, Eusebio. Crítica literaria. *El cuento endemoniado* [by Guillermo Matta]. *El Museo*, 204-7.
505. Lillo Figueroa, Samuel A. *Literatura chilena*. Casa Editorial Minerva. Santiago de Chile, Soc. Imp. y Lit. Universo, 1918. 8°. 171 p.

Short biographies of the principal authors beginning with Ercilla, followed by an exposition on the merits and defects of their work with passages to illustrate their style.

506. Lira, Máximo R. *Leonor ó el último día de los Jesuitas*, drama histórico en cinco actos por Ángel C. Vicuña. *Est. de Ch.*, IV. 505-7.
507. ———. *Una víctima del honor*, novela social por Don V. Murillo. *Ibid.*, V. 142-4, 171-3, 191-2.
508. Lizana M., Elías. Historia nacional. Bosquejo histórico de Camilo Henríquez. *Rev. (S) Cat.*, XXII. 301-14.
509. ———. *Historia de Chile sin gobernador*, por Crescente Errázuriz. *Ibid.*, Jan. 18, 1913.
510. López, Osvaldo. *Diccionario biográfico obrero de Chile*. Santiago, Imp. y Enc. Bella Vista, 1912. 4°. 372 p.

Each letter of the alphabet paged separately.

Includes biographies of Juan Rafael Allende, Leonardo Ellis, Pedro Pablo Figueroa and Mateo Martínez Quevedo.

511. Luco Valdés, Luis A. La bibliografía americana en Chile en 1879. *Los Tiempos*, Jan. 3, 1880.
512. ———. Notas sobre la *Historia de la literatura colonial de Chile*, por José Toribio Medina. *Rev. (I) de Ch.*, I. 310-15.
513. MacIver, Enrique. Discurso . . . *Bol. de la Acad. Chil.*, II. 369-407.

Deals first with the life of Marcial Martínez and then discusses forensic oratory in Chile.

514. Maluenda, Rafael. *El árbol ilusionado*, por Ernesto A. Guzmán. *Los Diez*, No. 1, I. 75-8.
515. Mandiola, Rómulo ("M. Richard", "R. Roco", "Roque Roca"). *Por amor y por dinero*. Comedia en tres actos, original de Don Luis Rodríguez Velasco. *Est. de Ch.*, V. 458-62, 465-8, 490-3, 501-5.

Also published in *Artículos Escogidos*.

516. ———. *El honor de una mujer*, drama en cuatro actos y en prosa por V. Torres Arce. *Ibid.*, V. 548-54. Also published in *Artículos Escogidos*.

517. ——— *Marista*, y la crítica de *Marista*, por Carlos Grez y Torres. *Ibid.*, V. 565-8.
518. ——— *Diccionario biográfico americano* por José Domingo Cortés. *Ibid.*, X. 361-9.
519. ——— *Martirios de honor* [Drama . . . por Antonio Espiñeira]. *Ibid.*, XIII. 706-12.
520. ——— *Como pasarían las cosas*. Comedia en tres actos por Antonio Espiñeira. *Ibid.*, XIII. 783-87.
521. ——— Introduction to Z. Rodríguez, *Francisco Bilbao, su vida y sus doctrinas*.
522. ——— *Francisco Bilbao i sus panajiristas*. Precedida de una introducción del Señor . . . Crescente Errázuriz. Santiago, Imp. de El. Estandarte Católico, 1876. 2 vols in 8°. XVII + 320 p; 438 p. [Anrique i Silva, *Ensayo* . . .]

Also published in *Obras completas*.

523. ——— Don Ambrosio Montt. Á propósito de los *Discursos y escritos políticos*. *Los Tiempos*, Feb. 2, 1880.
524. ——— Don Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna. *Ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1880.
525. ——— Crítica literaria. Don Miguel Luis Amunátegui. Á propósito de *La Cuestión de Límites entre Chile y la República Argentina*. *Ibid.*, Mar. 22, 1880.
526. ——— Nuestros poetas. *Ibid.*, Apr. 8, 1880.
527. ——— Don Jorge Huneeus [Á propósito de *La Constitución ante el Congreso*]. *Ibid.*, May 3, 1880.
528. ——— Don Diego Barros Arana [Á propósito de una nueva edición de los *Elementos de Literatura*]. *Ibid.*, May 10, 1880.
529. ——— Literatura. Nuestros poetas. I. Don José Antonio Soffia [Á propósito de *Poetas líricas*]. *Ibid.*, May 17, 1880.
530. ——— Don Adolfo Ibáñez. *Ibid.*, May 24, 1880.
531. ——— *El combate homérico*, por Vicente Grez. *Ibid.*, June 5, 1880.
532. ——— Don Eusebio Lillo. *Ibid.*, June 21, 1880.
533. ——— Nuestros poetas. II. Don Adolfo Valderrama. *Ibid.*, July 5, 1880.
534. ——— Nuestros poetas. III. Don Carlos Walker Martínez. *Ibid.*, July 25, 1880.
535. ——— Á propósito de un libro [*El guerrero chileno* by José Hipólito Salas]. *Ibid.*, Oct. 25, 1880.
536. ——— Un libro de poesías [*Patria amor*] by Ambrosio Montt y Montt. Oct. 28, 1880.
537. ——— Don Manuel Blanco Cuartín. *Ibid.*, Nov. 1, 1880.
538. ——— Don Domingo Arteaga Alemparte [Á propósito de *Obras Completas, Tomo I, Poetas*]. *Ibid.*, Nov. 8 and 15, 1880.
539. ——— Una obra de imaginación [*María*, novel by Adolfo Valderrama]. *Ibid.*, Dec. 13, 1880.
540. ——— De algunas licencias poéticas. *Ibid.*, Jan. 29 and Feb. 2, 1881.
541. ——— Un drama nacional [*Abnegación i heroísmo, o la rendición de Lima*, by Fernando Muriel Reveco]. Carta á Don Juan Rafael Allende. *Ibid.*, Mar. 8, 1881.

542. ——— Máximo R. Lira. *Ibid.*, Apr. 1, 1881.

Also published in *Artículos Escogidos*.

543. ——— *Gratitud y amor, comedia . . . de don Ramón Vial. El teléfono, juguete cómico . . . del mismo. Ibid.*, July 21, 1881.

544. ——— *Biografía de Don Adolfo Ibáñez. Con una introducción de Wdsh-ington Allendes. Santiago, Imp. del Progreso, 1890. 31 p.*

Incomplete but including many facts and an appreciation of the man and his works.

545. ——— *Obras completas . . . editadas por Onofre Mandiola. Ilustradas con retratos. Tomo primero. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Estación, 1896. 4°. 128 p.*

As far as I am aware no more was printed.

"Rasgos biográficos", pp. 9-36, by L. Barros Méndez.

"Francisco Bilbao i sus panejiristas . . . precedido de una introducción de . . . Crescente Errázuriz", pp. 37-127. Mainly an attempt to refute attacks made by Bilbao on Catholicism, and composed principally of articles published in *El Estándarte Católico* on the occasion of a proposal in Copiapó to erect a statue to Bilbao.

546. ——— *Artículos escogidos. Tomo I. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Santiago, 1911. 8°. 359 p. Port.*

"Don Eduardo de la Barra y yo," p. 43-51.

"Á propósito de un boceto de pluma. De la crítica literaria i otros escesos," p. 60-9. Deals with a critical and biographical article on Mandiola published by Cornelio Vilama in *La Libertad*, Mar. 14, 1880.

"Máximo R. Lira," p. 151-62.

"Augusto Ramírez Sosa," p. 163-70.

"*El honor de una mujer*, drama . . . por V. Torres Arce," p. 205-51.

"*Por amor i por dinero*, comedia . . . de Luis Rodríguez Velasco," p. 217-48.

"La feria de las vanidades. Crítica bibliográfica," p. 277-306.

Deals with the *Suscripción de la Academia de Bellas Letras* . . . This article was also published in the *Est. de Ch.*, IX. 105-35, 149-60.

547. Marín, Ventura. *Miscelánea*, ó colección de varios artículos publicados en varios números del periódico *La Estrella de Chile*, por Don Zorababel Rodríguez. *Est. de Ch.*, VII. 593-603.

548. Martínez, Graciano. Estudios críticos. *El solitario de Polanco*, por José María de Pereda. *Rev. (3) Cat.*, X. 496-502.

549. Martínez Loyola, Baulio. Rasgos históricos de P. P. Figueroa. See Figueroa. *Prosistas i poetas*.

550. Martínez, Marcial. Biografía de Don Juan Egaña. *Rev. de S. A.*, II. 212-21, 290-99.

551. Martínez Mutis, Aurelio. Prólogo á *Letras Hispano-americanas*, por A. Carrasco (q. v.)

552. Matta, Guillermo. Tendencias de la literatura americana. Discurso. . . . *Anal. de la Univ.*, 1864, Segundo semes., 525ff.

553. Matta, M. A. Introduction to *Suscripción de la Academia de Bellas Letras*. Matta Vial, Enrique. (Most of the following articles appeared either without signature or signed "C", "M," "N.P. M," R.V." "T," "T. A. R.," "X" or "Z.")
554. ——— A. Fuensalida Grandón, *Lastarria y su tiempo*, Vol. I. *Rev. Chil. de H. y G.*, I. No. 1.
555. ——— T. Thayer Ojeda, *Los conquistadores de Chile*, Tomo II. *Ibid.*, No. 1.
556. ——— D. Amunátegui Solar, *Noticias inéditas sobre Don Juan Martínez de Rozas*. *Ibid.*, No. 1.
557. ——— J. Huneeus Gana, *Cuadro histórico de la producción intelectual en Chile*. *Ibid.*, No. 1.
558. ——— J. C. Larraín, *Impresiones y recuerdos sobre la campaña del Perú y Bolivia*. *Ibid.*, No. 1.
559. ——— H. R. Guíñasú, *Balmaceda, ó el alma política de un pueblo*. *Ibid.*, No. 1.
560. ——— L. B. Martínez, *Pedro León Gallo*. *Ibid.*, No. 1.
561. ——— V. Pérez Rosales, *Recuerdos del pasado*. *Ibid.*, No. 1.
562. ——— J. T. Medina, *Un precursor chileno de la revolución de la independencia de América*. *Ibid.*, No. 1.
563. ——— L. A. Mesa Torres, *El capitán de la independencia don José de Mesa*. *Ibid.*, No. 1.
564. ——— V. D. Silva, *Monografía histórica de Valparaíso desde su descubrimiento hasta nuestros días*. *Ibid.*, I. No. 2.
565. ——— J. y D. Arteaga Alemparte, *Los constituyentes chilenos de 1870*. *Ibid.*, No. 2.
566. ——— D. Amunátegui Solar, *Las encomiendas de indígenas en Chile*. *Ibid.*, No. 2.
567. ——— L. Galdames, *Estudio de la historia de Chile*. *Ibid.*, No. 2.
568. ——— F. J. Ovalle Castillo, *Chile en la región austral*. *Ibid.*, No. 2.
569. ——— V. Dagnino, *El ayuntamiento de Tacna*. *Ibid.*, I. No. 3.
570. ——— J. T. Medina, *El éptome chileno de Santiago de Tesillo*. *Ibid.* I. No. 3.
571. ——— J. J. Vallejo, *Obras*. . . . *Ibid.*, I. No. 3.
572. ——— C. Errázuriz, *Historia de Chile*. Tomo I. *Ibid.*, I. No. 4.
573. ——— J. T. Medina, *Colección de historiadores de Chile*. Tomo XL. *Ibid.*, No. 4.
574. ——— Colegio de los SS. CC., *Historia general de América*, *Ibid.*, IV. No. 8.
575. ——— C[arlos] S[ilva] C[otapos], *Barros Arana historiador*. *Ibid.*, VIII. No. 12.
576. ——— S. Soto Rojas, *Crónicas chilenas*. *Ibid.*, X, No. 14.
577. ——— Chiappa, *Éptome de las publicaciones de J. T. Medina*. *Ibid.*, XIII. No. 17.
578. ——— Marcial Martínez, *La cuestión chileno-peruana*. *Ibid.*, XIII. No. 17.
579. ——— C. Mandiola Gana, *Páginas de la guerra civil de 1891*. *Ibid.*, XVIII. No. 22.

580. ——— W. Ekdalil, *Historia militar de la Guerra del Pacífico*. *Ibid.*, XXII. No. 26.
581. ——— Lucas Sierra, *Las grandes figuras de la medicina hasta Pasteur y Lista*. *Rev. (2) Chil.*, I. July, 1917.
582. ——— S. Marín Vicuña, *Problemas nacionales*. *Ibid.*, Aug. 1917.
583. ——— M. L. Amunátegui Reyes, *Don Bernardo O'Higgins juzgado por algunos de sus contemporáneos*. *Ibid.*, II. March, 1918.
584. ——— Alfredo Andueza, *El crisol*. *Ibid.*, VII. 130-1.
585. ——— J. T. Medina, *La Araucana . . . Ilustraciones*. *Ibid.*, VII. 143-4.
586. ——— Joaquín Walker Martínez, *La cuestión del Pacífico. Clamores de intervención diplomática*. *Ibid.*, VII. 282-5.
587. "Matucho." *El arte dramático en Chile*. *Los Tiempos*, Dec. 9, 10, 15, 16, and 17, 1880.
588. Maturana, Víctor. *Historia de los Agustinos en Chile*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Valparaíso de Federico Y. Lathrop, 1904. 2 vols. in 4.. XV + 901 p. + Errores; and 1037 p.
- Vol. I. includes biographies of Gaspar de Villarroel (pp. 356-511) and Miguel de Aguirre (pp. 658-71).
- Vol. II. biography of Juan de Toro Masote (pp. 111-24) and the article "José de Erasó, *El diálogo de los porteros*" (pp. 606-13).
589. ——— *Carta al Presbítero Don Juan de Salas E. . .* Concepción. Lit. e Imp. Concepción. 1905. 8°. 38 p.
- An answer to the "Carta al R. P. Víctor Maturana" (q. v.), taking up the arguments of Salas and overwhelming him with scorn.
590. ——— *Polémica y poesta*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Enc. y Lit. La Ilustración, 1909. 8°. 145 p. + Ind.
- "Carta al Presbítero . . . Salas Errázuriz", pp. 5-46.
- "Contestación al Pbdo. Don Carlos Silva Cotapos sobre la *Reforma de los Agustinos* y el Rvmo. Arzobispo Valdivieso", pp. 27-95. This was also published in the *Rev. (3) Cat.*, XVII, 199-207, 275-84, 338-45, 417-26.
591. ——— *Mi última palabra*. *Rev. (3) Cat.*, XVII. 606-7.<sup>1</sup>
592. Medina, José Toribio. *El amor en la Araucana*. *El Correo del Perú*. 1875 or 1876. [Chiappa].
593. ——— Fray Miguel de Aguirre. *Ibid.*, July and Aug., 1875. Nos. XXX-XXXIII [Rev. de Bibl.]
594. ——— *La astrología y los cronistas chilenos*. *Ibid.*, 1875 or 1876. [Chiappa].
596. ——— Biography of Juan de Jesús María. Introduction to *Memorias del Reyno de Chile . . .* Lima, Imp. Liberal del Correo del Perú, 1875. 87 × 147 mm., X + 124 p. [Chiappa.]

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<sup>1</sup> "Tomás Thayer Ojeda ha hecho un extracto de esta polémica bibliográfica en el prólogo del tomo XIX de la *Colección de historiadores y de documentos relativos a la independencia de Chile* (p. XVII-XXII). R. A. Laval, *Bibliog. de Bibliog.*

597. ———— *Ercilla juzgado por la Araucana. El Correo del Perú. 1876.*  
[Rev. de Bibl.]
598. ———— *Historia de la literatura colonial de Chile (Memoria premiada por la Facultad de Filosofía i Humanidades).* Santiago, Imp. de la Lib. del Mercurio, 1878. 3 vols. in 4°. CXXXII + 457 p.; 553 p: and, 197 p. + Ind.

The most complete treatment of this period of Chilean literature. The long introduction deals with the Spanish colony and is followed by a study of the poetry, theology, history, descriptions of Chile, biography, jurisprudence, the novel, narrations of personal adventures and travel, oratory, sciences and literature in Latin. The literary productions are discussed from all points of interest: merits and defects, characters, historical value, style, versification, etc. with long illustrative quotations. Well documented and references given in detail.

"No excusa ningún detalle porque no se evitado la fatiga de ninguna investigación. Razona con abundancia porque ha estudiado con pericia. Retrata i comprueba hechos dudosos o poco esclarecidos, afirma i rectifica nombres i fechas, da dictámenes sobre accesorios o juzga a fondo sobre los caracteres i las situaciones, porque el autor para escribir sobre la poesía del coloniaje, ha comprendido con laudable sagacidad . . . que para escribir sobre los versos de épocas ya remotas, es preciso, a fin de acertar, escrudificar a fondo su historia, su sociabilidad, sus corrientes dominantes i hasta la crónica casera i la vida íntima, así de los cantores como de sus héroes, supuestos o verdaderos". B. Vicuña Mackenna, "Informe", Vol. III, pp. 186 of the *Historia* . . .

"No posee la segunda parte . . . la riqueza de tela i colorido que hicimos resaltar en el rápido análisis de los poemas i otras obras de imaginación de que hizo ostentoso acopio el primer siglo de la conquista, teniendo a Ercilla a su cabeza. Pero por lo mismo que la dificultad era mayor, más estéril el campo i más ingrata la faena, el autor ha sabido llenarla con mayor lucimiento". G. V. Amunátegui and B. Vicuña Mackenna, "Informe", Vol. III. p. 192 of the *Historia* . . .

599. ———— *Las guerras de Chile. Poema histórico por el Sargento Mayor don Juan de Mendoza Monteaudo. Publicado con una introducción, notas é ilustraciones . . .* [Santiago de Chile, Imp. Ercilla, 1888.] 8°. XXVI + two + 277 p. + three. [Chiappa].

"En el prólogo el editor recuerda las condiciones de peregrina rareza que caracteriza á todos lo poemas a que dió origen las guerras de la conquista de Chile y se propone reunir en una sola serie las crónicas verificadas de los antiguos conquistadores ó de sus inmediatos descendientes".

Chiappa, *Biblioteca Medina* . . . II, p. 19.

600. ———— *Biblioteca Americana. Catálogo breve de mi colección de libros relativos á la América Latina con un ensayo de bibliografía de Chile durante el período colonial.* Santiago de Chile. Typis Authoris., MDCCCLXXXVIII. 111 X 58 mm. VI + 478 p. [Chiappa].

Pages 121-8 comprise a description of thirty-four editions of the *Araucana*. This bibliography also appears in König, *La Araucana* . . . "Por una equivocación se ha atribuido esta descripción bibliográfica . . . al mismo señor König á pesar de que cuida de indicar la procedencia de este trabajo". Chiappa, *Biblioteca Medina* . . . p. 23.

601. ———— *Biografía de Alonso de Ovalle.* Vol. XII. of *Col. de Hist. de Ch.*, pp. V-XXVIII.
602. ———— *Biografía de Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre.* Vol. XIV. of *Col. de Hist. de Ch.*, pp. IX-XXII.
603. ———— *Biografía de Alonso González de Nájera.* Vol. XVI of *Col. de Hist. de Ch.*, pp. IX-XV.



604. ——— *Bibliografía de la imprenta en Santiago de Chile desde sus orígenes hasta febrero de 1817*. Santiago, Impreso en casa del autor, 1891. 4°. XLI + 179 p. + Erratas.

The introduction contains an account of early printing in Chile; a biography of José Camilio Gallardo, the first printer in Chile; a full account of the acquisition and installation of the famous *Aurora* press; a biography of Arnaldo Hoefel and information about his assistants.

In the body of the work, in addition to the bibliographical information there are numerous biographical notes.

605. ——— *Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena (1523-1817). Memoria presentada á la Universidad de Chile . . .* Santiago de Chile, Impreso y grabado en casa del autor, MDCCCXCVII. Three vols. in 8°. XVI + 653 pp. + Notas; 616 p. and, 575 p.

Description of books published outside of Chile by Chileans or Spaniards who had been in Chile. Contains much biographical information, especially about Ercilla.

606. ——— *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana (1493-1810)*. Santiago de Chile. Impreso y grabado en casa del autor, MDCCCXCVIII-MCMII 6 vols. in 4°. XVII + 632 p.; 544 p.; 476 p. + Erratas; 664 p.; 494 p.; and, CXXX + 587 p.

A mine of information about the colonial period, including many articles connected with Chilean literature.

607. ——— *La crónica de 1810* por don Miguel Luis Amunátegui. Tomo III *La Libertad Electoral*, Santiago, May 9, 1899. [Chiappa].
608. ——— Biografía de José Pérez García. Vol. XXII. of *Col. de Hist. de Ch.*, pp. IX-XXII.
609. ——— Una nueva edición francesa de la *Araucana*. *Rev. Nueva*, 1900, 169-73. [Chiappa].
610. ——— *Diccionario biográfico colonial de Chile. Memoria presentada á la Universidad . . .* Santiago de Chile, Imp. Elzeviriana, MDCMVI. 4°. VIII + 1004 p. Port.

"Nuestra obra, pues, está destinada á complementar la historia general de Chile; pero de ningún modo á intentarla bajo las apariencias de la forma biográfica. Así el lector que se encuentre con el nombre de un personaje que ha figurado en los acontecimientos de este país y que desee averiguar sus antecedentes, la fecha de su nacimiento ó de su muerte ó otras particulares, podrá, lo creemos, consultar de ordinario con provecho este pequeño diccionario, cuando el historiador general . . . no haya querido ó podido ilustrar la curiosidad del lector". Prólogo.

611. ——— *La Araucana, edición del centenario, ilustrada con grabados, documentos, notas históricas y bibliográficas y una biografía del autor*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Elzeviriana, MCMX-MCMXVIII. 5 vols. in folio.

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Vol. II. (1913), 552 pp. A collection of documents relating to the life of Ercilla.

Vol. III. (1917), 347 pp. "Vida de Ercilla", pp. 5-217; "Aprobaciones de Ercilla, Retratos de . . . La firmas de . . . , El mayorazgo de . . . , La familia de . . . , La viuda de . . . ,", pp. 219-307; "Índices," pp. 309-47.

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pp. 61-80. "Aprobantes de . . .", pp. 83-106 "Variantes de . . .", pp. 107-70. "Lexicografía de . . .", pp. 171-424. "Voces indígenas", pp. 425-99. "Índices", pp. 501-12.

Vol. V. (1918), 556 pp. Port. "Ilustraciones" [Continued].

"Los archivos americanos, los nuestros de Simancas, de Indias, los del Notarial, de Madrid y algunos otros han suministrado á la prolíja y benedictina labor del señor Medina, nada menos que 533 documentos, que irradian luz clarísima sobre la vida del cantor de Arauco, y que desde ahora quedan incorporados en el acervo común de noticias para la historia literaria española". El Marqués de Laurencín, review of the first two volumes in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia*, Madrid, LXIV. Cuaderno III. 285-8. This article was reprinted in the *Rev. Chil. de H. y G.*, X. 474-5

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(To be continued.)

STURGIS E. LEAVITT.

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New glass-bottle factory for Mendoza, Argentina. *Id.*  
New issue of "cedulas" in Argentina. No. 16, April 17.  
New mining operations in Peru. No. 15, April 10.  
New Norwegian line to South America. No. 10, November 7.  
New paper currency for Paraguay. No. 12, March 20.  
New petroleum law for Ecuador. No. 13, November 28.  
New port for Sonora. No. 12, March 20.  
New projects in Cuba. No. 10, November 7.  
New railroad in Mexico. No. 12, March 20.  
New railway in Chile. No. 11, November 14.  
New river ports in Argentina. No. 12, March 20.  
New service between Central America and Europe, No. 16, December 19.  
New short-line railroad in Mexico. No. 5, January 30.  
*Id.*, in Panama. *Id.*  
New telegraph lines in Argentina. *Id.*  
*Id.*, in Brazil. No. 12, November 21.  
New wireless station at Maracaibo, Venezuela. No. 10, November 7.  
Northern Argentine petroleum fields. No. 5, October 3.  
Notes of the Tampico oil fields. No. 17, December 26.  
Notice to Mexico mine owners. No. 17, April 24.  
October petroleum shipments from Mexico. No. 16, December 19.  
Oil in Trinidad. No. 10, March 6.  
Oil production in Mexican fields. No. 13, November 28.  
Opening for building equipment in Buenos Aires. No. 12, November 21.  
Operation of Bahia (Brazil) Railways. No. 9, October 31.  
Opportunity for drugstore in Virgin Islands. No. 16, April 17.  
Organization of Cuban bank creditors. No. 12, March 20.  
Outlook for selling tractors and implements in Mexico. No. 4, January 23.  
The Outlook for American trade with Peru. No. 6, February 6.  
Output of boot and shoe factories of Brazil. No. 12, November 21.  
Paint market in Cuba. No. 16, April 17.  
Palm oil offers Americans an opportunity in Paraguay. No. 13, November 28.  
Panama Canal to sell surplus supplies. No. 6, February 6.

- Panama Canal traffic during August. No. 6, October 10.  
Panama hats exported from Ecuador. No. 16, April 17.  
Paraguayan appropriations for fiscal year 1921-22. No. 17, December 26.  
Paraguayan economic conditions. No. 11, March 13.  
Parcel post facilities in Argentina. No. 16, December 19.  
Parcel post regulations in Argentina. No. 17, April 24.  
*Id.*, in Haiti. No. 11, March 13.  
*Id.*, in Nicaragua. No. 17, April 24.  
*Id.*, in Paraguay. No. 11, March 13.  
Patents and trade-marks in Brazil. No. 7, February 13.  
Patents in Costa Rica. No. 17, December 26.  
Permanent sample rooms in Mexico City. No. 13, March 27.  
Peru a market for American motor cars. No. 15, December 12.  
*Id.*, for manila rope. No. 4, January 23.  
Peruvian census of farm implements. No. 11, March 13.  
Peruvian coal market. No. 13, March 27.  
Peruvian government seeking to improve economic conditions. No. 14, December 5.  
Peruvian market for rubber goods. No. 16, December 19.  
Peruvian market for wearing apparel. No. 7, February 13.  
Peruvian rice situation. No. 12, November 21.  
Peruvian situation improved. No. 10, November 7.  
Peruvian trade and economic notes. No. 9, October 31.  
Petition for aerial franchise service in Chile. No. 15, December 12.  
Petroleum concessions and legislation in Bolivia. No. 9, February 27.  
Petroleum exploitation in Venezuela. No. 16, April 17.  
The Petroleum industry in Mexico. Nos. 8, 9, and 10, October 24 and 31, and November 7.  
Petroleum shipments from Tampico district for November, 1921. No. 6, February 6.  
Petropolis loan. No. 5, January 30.  
Photographic apparatus and supplies in Brazil. No. 13, November 28.  
Plans to relieve Colombian currency situation. No. 12, March 20.  
Platinum discovered in Brazil. No. 14, April 3.  
Poor outlook for Mexican Guayule rubber industry. No. 15, April 10.  
Population of British Honduras in 1921. No. 6, February 6.  
Port construction in Brazil. No. 6, February 6.  
The Port of Iquitos, Peru, to be reopened shortly. No. 9, February 27.  
Port of Tampico reopens. No. 14, December 5.

- Power and light installations for Therezopolis, Brazil. No. 11, November 14.
- Powers of attorney for use in Argentina. No. 8, October 24.
- Id.*, in Brazil and Chile. No. 9, October 31.
- Id.*, in Cuba. No. 8, October 24.
- Id.*, in Dominican Republic. No. 2, January 9.
- Preference for inch-size tires in Puerto Cabello, Venezuela. No. 7, February 13.
- Present condition of Argentine market for foodstuffs. No. 14, December 5.
- Present conditions in Cuban lumber trade. No. 3, January 16.
- Price readjustments in Cuba. No. 9, October 31.
- Production costs for Yucatan sisal. No. 8, October 24.
- Production of castor oil in Argentina. *Id.*
- Production of shoes in Mexico. No. 2, January 9.
- Progress of Brazilian construction works. No. 11, March 13.
- Promising market for oil-well equipment in Argentina. No. 9, February 27.
- Proposed Argentine tax on large land holdings. No. 15, April 10.
- Proposed automobile highway in Mexico. No. 16, April 17.
- Proposed aviation routes in Brazil. No. 15, December 12.
- Proposed aviation service between Buenos Aires and Montevideo. No. 12, November 21.
- Proposed Brazilian loan. No. 5, January 30.
- Proposed change in Argentine commercial code. No. 7, October 17.
- Proposed Chilean budget for 1922. No. 10, March 6.
- Proposed commercial wireless for Chile. No. 15, December 19.
- Proposed to establish a central bank in Colombia. No. 10, March 6.
- Proposed moratorium on Argentine live-stock loans. No. 11, November 14.
- Proposed packing house at Rosario, Argentina. No. 5, October 3.
- Proposed public works at Hermosillo, Mexico. No. 4, January 23.
- Proposed railway line in Argentina. No. 15, December 12.
- Protection for Brazilian oil nuts. No. 5, January 30.
- Protection of Argentine metallurgical industry. No. 13, November 28.
- Publicity for American textiles in Argentina. No. 12, March 20.
- Radio stations in Venezuela. No. 6, October 10.
- Radio system proposed in Chile. No. 17, December 26.
- Railway activities in Chile, No. 12, November 21.
- The railways of Honduras. No. 4, January 23.



- Readjustment continues in Mexico. No. 14, December 5.  
Rebates illegal in Peru. No. 13, March 27.  
Recent Uruguayan trade figures—The trend toward Germany. No. 13. November 28.  
Recife cotton shipments for 1921. No. 14, April 3.  
Record shallow well in Tampico oil fields. No. 11, March 13.  
Reduced tourist fares in Mexico. No. 6, February 6.  
Regular deliveries of Argentine petroleum. No. 15, April 10.  
Reorganization of Chilean coal interests. No. 3, January 16.  
Report of bank of Venezuela for first half of 1921. No. 16, December 19.  
Report of Pearse mission on cotton growing in Brazil. No. 8, October 24.  
Result of auto census of Mexico City. No. 5, October 3.  
Results of free markets in Rio de Janeiro. No. 16, April 17.  
Results of live-stock census in the Dominican Republic. No. 8, October 24.  
Review of Argentine hide and leather trade. No. 11, March 13.  
Review of Argentine shipping in 1921. *Id.*  
Review of economic conditions in Guadeloupe. No. 16, April 17.  
Rice industry in Argentina. No. 16, December 12.  
Road building in Argentina. No. 12, November 21.  
Road building in Honduras progressing. No. 12, March 20.  
Road building in São Paulo, Brazil. No. 2, January 9.  
Road construction and promotion in Brazil. No. 3, January 16.  
Road improvement in Mexico. No. 11, November 14.  
Road planned in northern Mexico. No. 2, January 9.  
Rope-fiber industry in Manzanilla. No. 14, December 5.  
Rosario to build drainage plant. No. 13, November 28.  
Rubber exports from Brazil and Peru for 1920 and 1921. No. 10, March 6.  
*Id.*, in September, 1921. No. 11, November 14.  
Rubber goods in Argentina. No. 13, November 28.  
Sale of Argentine bank. No. 14, April 3.  
Sale of public utilities in Brazil. No. 1, January 2.  
Schedule of bids for Argentine rolling stock. No. 14, April 3.  
Second annual tractor contest in Brazil. No. 1, January 2.  
Shipment of fresh prunes from Argentina. No. 12, March 20.  
Shipments of sugar from Recife, Brazil. No. 14, December 5.  
Shipping at Guatemalan ports, No. 3, January 16.  
Shipping at Guayaquil, Ecuador. No. 12, November 21.

- Short coffee crop in Brazil. No. 14, April 3.  
Short pecan crop in Nueva Laredo, Mexico. No. 14, December 5.  
Sisal exports from Mexico. No. 12, March 20.  
Slight improvement on Mexican trade outlook. No. 1, January 2.  
Slight progress made in Peruvian trade. No. 14, December 5.  
South American trade in United States building materials. No. 14, April 3.  
Status of the Cuban lumber trade. Nos. 7 and 8, February 13 and 20.  
Status of the petroleum question in Argentina. No. 5, January 30.  
Statute of limitations in Brazil. No. 3, January 16.  
*Id.*, in Mexico. No. 17, December 26.  
*Id.*, in South American republics. *Id.*  
Steel-foundry industry in Uruguay. No. 11, March 13.  
Stevedore service officialized in Buenos Aires. No. 13, November 28.  
Storage facilities at Matanzas, Cuba. No. 12, November 21.  
Straight-side tires in British Honduras. No. 4, January 23.  
Sugar production in Argentina. No. 8, October 24.  
Sugar shipments from Matanzas, Cuba. No. 17, April 24.  
Sugar warehouses facilitate credit in the Dominican Republic. No. 12, March 20.  
Summary of petroleum concessions in Honduras. No. 17, December 26.  
Supplying material for Argentine public works. No. 14, April 3.  
Survey of Chilean rubber goods market. No. 15, December 12.  
Suspension of embargo in Mexico. No. 11, March 13.  
Tariff changes in Argentina. No. 15, December 12, and Nos. 7, 11, and 16, February 13, March 13, and April 17.  
*Id.*, in Brazil. No. 15, December 12, and Nos. 8 and 13, February 20 and March 27.  
*Id.*, in Chile. Nos. 8 and 16, February 20 and April 17.  
*Id.*, in Colombia. Nos. 13 and 17, March 27 and April 24.  
*Id.*, in Costa Rica. No. 12, March 20.  
*Id.*, in Ecuador. No. 15, December 12.  
*Id.*, in Guadeloupe. No. 7, October 17.  
*Id.*, in Guatemala. Nos. 7 and 15, February 13 and April 10.  
*Id.*, in Jamaica. No. 16, December 19.  
*Id.*, in Mexico. Nos. 8, 10, 15, 16, and 17, October 24, November 7, and December 12, 19, and 26, and Nos. 8, 11, 12, 13 and 17, February 20, March 13, 20, and 27, and April 24.  
*Id.*, in Peru. Nos. 14 and 15, April 3 and 10.  
Taxation in Argentina. No. 4, January 23.

- Telephone concession in northern Argentina. No. 14, December 5.  
Textile imports of Matanzas, Cuba. No. 14, March 27.  
Tin exports from Bolivia. No. 17, April 24.  
Tire preference in Curacao. No. 7, February 13.  
Tone of Brazilian market strong. No. 10, November 7.  
The Toy trade in central Mexico. No. 7, February 13.  
Tractors in use in Uruguay. No. 16, December 19.  
Tractors used in Cuba for sugar cultivation. No. 6, February 6.  
Trade condition in the Honduran market. *Id.*  
Trade marks and patents in Uruguay. No. 10, November 7.  
Trade marks in Argentina. Nos 10, and 17, March 6, and April 24.  
*Id.*, in Cuba. No. 11, March 13.  
Trade of the United States with Latin America. No. 8, February 20.  
Trade restrictions in Brazil. No. 11, March 13.  
*Id.*, in British Honduras. No. 10, March 6.  
*Id.*, in Chile. Nos. 8 and 15, February 20 and April 10.  
*Id.*, in Cuba. No. 17, December 26.  
*Id.*, in Ecuador. *Id.*  
*Id.*, in Guatemala. No. 15, April 10.  
*Id.*, in Haiti. No. 16, April 17.  
*Id.*, in Mexico. No. 15, April 10.  
*Id.*, in Peru. *Id.*  
The Trade situation and financial condition in Chile. No. 14, April 3.  
The twenty-four hour law in Latin America. No. 3, January 16.  
Types of tires preferred in Cartagena, Colombia. No. 7, February 13.  
Types of tires in Santiago de Chile. No. 10, March 6.  
Unfavorable outlook in Mexican trade situation. No. 6, February 6.  
United States dominates Brazilian trade in tire repair materials. No. 1, January 2.  
United States supplies Mexico with tire repair materials. No. 3, January 16.  
Uruguayan deficit for last fiscal year. No. 6, February 6.  
Uruguayan foreign trade for nine months of 1921. No. 5, January 30.  
Uruguayan government finances show deficit. No. 12, March 20.  
Uruguayan government proposes purchase of waterworks. *Id.*  
Uruguayan market for portable houses limited. No. 17, April 24.  
Use of alcohol for tractors in Brazil. No. 7, February 13.  
Use of alcohol as a motor fuel in Cuba. No. 1, January 2.  
Venezuelan coffee drop. No. 7, October 17.  
Venezuela's public debt. No. 13, March 27.

Vera Cruz market for arms and ammunition. No. 16, April 17.  
 Work on Guayaquil water-supply system. No. 17, April 24.  
 Writing insurance in Argentina. No. 16, April 17.  
 Yucatan tax on steamship agencies. No. 13, March 27.  
 Yugoslavia-Argentina steamship service. *Id.*

*The American Political Review*, for February, 1922, has an interesting and valuable contribution by L. S. Rowe, entitled "The Development of democracy on the American continent".

*Annaes da Sociedade Rural Brasileira* for August, 1921, contains among other things: "A Defesa permanente do café—a visita do presidente da Republica a São Paulo (importantes delarações do chefe da Nação com referencia a valorisação e á defesa permanente do café)". In the number for September is found an item entitled "O commercio mundial do café (Exposição feita na Sociedade Rural Brasileira em 7 de setembro de 1921)", by Eugenio Nortz (New York). In December appeared "Defesa permanente do café (o parecer do sr. Sampaio Vidal aprovado pela Camara Federal por 114 votos contra 6 votos)"; "Oportunidade da instituição da defesa permanente do café (comunicação do snr. Silvio Alvares Penteado)". The double issue for January–February, 1922, contains: "A Crise da pecuaria"; "Deputado Sampaio Vidal"; "O, Saneamento rural", by Mario Pernambuco; "O Amarellão e o seu tratamento"; "Limitação das entradas de café em Santos".

*El Arte Tipográfico*, which is published in New York, contains in recent numbers articles as follows: September, 1921; "Dos dignos representantes del periodismo mexicano" (José Gómez Ugarte and Gustavo A. Bravo y Piedra, both of *El Universal*). October: "Exposición de arte hispanoamericano en los Estados Unidos." December: "Bosquejo histórico de una de las causas impresoras más importantes de las Antillas: la casa de Cantero, Fernandez y Co., de San Juan de Puerto Rico". January, 1921: "La National Paper and Type Co. en el Uruguay".

In *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas*, Sevilla, is found material as follows: Nos. 46 and 47, 1921: "Catálogo de Legajos del Archivo General de Indias" (continued), by Pedro Torres Lanzas (also instalments in the other numbers mentioned below); "Libro de las longitudes . . . por Alonso de Santa Cruz" (also instalments

in the numbers mentioned below); "Sobre el proyecto de federación de las entidades americanas españoles", by Germán Latorre. Nos. 48 and 49: Martínez Montañés en el Archivo de Indias", by Santiago Montoto: "Permisi6n de 500 toneladas al escultor Juan Martínez Montañés", by Santiago Montoto;" "La Fiesta de la Raza". Nos. 50, and 51: "Los Espanoles y Portugueses en ultramar", by Germán Latorre; "Cr6nica Americanista", by Manuel R. Navas.

In *The Catholic Historical Review* for April, 1922, is an article by Rt. Rev. F. L. Gassler, entitled "Pere Antoine, supreme officer of the holy inquisition of Cartagena, in Louisiana".

*The Catholic World* for May, 1921, publishes a paper by John F. O'Hara, C.S.C., entitled "The League of Catholic Women in Uruguay".

*Cuba Contemporánea* for November, 1921, contains the following: "El Vocablo 'conuco' ", by Fernando Ortiz; "Literatura sudamericana", by Arturo Torres R6oseco; "Páginas para la historia de Cuba. Documentos para la biografía de José de la Luz y Cabellero", by Francisco G. del Valle (also in the numbers mentioned below); "Pi y Margall y la independencia cubana", by J. Conangla Fontanilles (also in the other numbers mentioned below); "Un Sistema socialista práctico", by Diego Vicente Tejera; "Sobre un libro de la guerra y la psicología del combatiente", by Luis Rodríguez Embil. December: "La Enseñanza secundaria en Cuba: reformas que necesita", by Arturo Montori: "Escritores juvenes de Cuba. Ramón S. Varona", by Enrique Gay Calbó. January, 1922: "La Doctrina de Monroe", by Félix Pérez Porta; "Sentido económico de la emancipación de la mujer", by José Antonio Ramos; "La Actual situación de Cuba juzgada por Varona"; "Triunfos y honores obtenidos por escritores cubanos". April, 1922: "Bustos Dominicanos. José Núñez de Cáceres", by Federico García Godoy; "Carabali (leyenda puertorriqueña), by Cayetano Coll y Toste; "Discurriendo alrededor de voluptuosidad de Miguel Angel Corral. Filosofía del estilo", by Eugenio Garzón; "La Isla de Pinos, de hecho y derecho, es territorio cubano", by Luis Machado; "La pena de muerte", by José de Zarranz Sánchez; "Las Relaciones económicas entre Cuba y los Estados Unidos", by Luis Marino Pérez. The bibliographical section of this review is managed by Enrique Gay Calbó.

*The Geographical Review* (New York), in its issue for October, 1921, contains an article entitled "Lower California and its natural resources", by W. M. Davis. January, 1922: "Exploration in the land of the Yuracares, eastern Bolivia", by Kirtley E. Mather; and "Memorial to James Orton, on Lake Titicaca". April, 1922: "The Forests of the Dominican Republic", by William Davies Durland; "Geographical relations in the development of Cuban agriculture", by R. H. Whitbeck; "A Vegetation map of Venezuela"; "Chilean ethnological expedition to Tierra del Fuego".

Among material published in *Hispania* during the last few months might be mentioned the following: October, 1921: "Lecciones de pronunciación española, IV. by T. Navarro Tomás; Viajes por España. III. La Fuente del Ebro", by Aurelio M. Espinosa; "The revised Portuguese orthography", by Maro Beath Jones; "The Bilingual-biracial problem of our border states", by John D. Fitz-Gerald. "The term Latin America repudiated by the second Spanish-American congress of history and geography". November: "En torno de 'Los intereses creados' ", by Erasmo Buceta; "Viajes por España. IV. Castilla La Vieja", by Aurelio M. Espinosa; "Curso de vacaciones para extranjeros en Madrid". December, 1921: "On the teaching of Spanish", by Aurelio M. Espinosa; "Amado Nervo", by Alfredo Coester; and "The Doctrine in Spain". The excellent bibliographical features of this review are being continued.

*Hispanoamérica* is the name of a new monthly review, which began publication in Caracas, Venezuela, in January of this year, with Alfredo Terrero-Atienza and Tito Gutiérrez Álfaro as directors, and J. N. Estrada, as business manager. In its first number, the aim of the new review is given as the diffusion of continental culture and the promotion of harmony among Spanish-speaking peoples. A section is devoted to each of the Hispanic American countries. The first number has set a good standard, which it is hoped will be continued. Among contributors are many well-known authors and historical workers. Articles include the following: "Caracas en el siglo XIX", by Eloy G. González; "Una Leyenda bibliográfica (El compendio, resumen o recuerdos de la Historia de Venezuela por don Andrés Bello)", by M. S. Sánchez; "Hace un siglo", by José Antonio Ramos Sucre: "El Porvenir de la América Española (fragment)", by Manuel Ugarte; "La Poesía Americana", by Juan María Gutiérrez; "El Gran templo del sol en los Andes

(La edad de Tihuanacu; astronomía prehistórica)", by Arthur Posnansky; "El Sueño de la Atlantida", by João do Rio; "Lady Stanhope", by Luis Augusto Cuervo; "La Inspección médica en las escuelas públicas de Centro América", by Louis Schapiro; "Las Guerras de Bolivia (Capítulo séptimo—Bolívar dictador)", by Francisco Rivas Vicuña; "La Arqueología americana en la civilización moderna", by Pedro Pablo Traversari; "Alma y Cerebro", by José V. Vásquez; "El Quetzal", by Joaquín Méndez; "Estudio sobre los recursos de la República de Honduras y su desarrollo comercial", by Guillermo Campos; "El Río Capitalino", by Julián R. Cáceres, "Xochinacaztli, flor sagrada de los Aztecas", by William Edwin Safford; "Unificación monetaria", by Pedro J. Cuadra Ch.; "Algo de la historia natural del istmo de Panamá", by J. C. Marcelli; "El Tambu y la muerte de los Tacuaras en Sud-América", by G. de Winkelried Bertoni; "José Asunción Silva", by Ventura García Calderón; "Literatura Portorriqueña", by Enrique Torres Rivera; "El Niño-heróe (de un libro en preparación)", by Víctor M. de Castro, "De la Tradición de los pueblos hispano-americanos", by José Enrique Rodó. Each number also contains bibliographical data, reviews, etc.

In recent issues of *Inter-America* appear the following articles: October, 1921: "A Central American Joan of Arc", by Ricardo Fernández Guardia (transl. from the book *Crónicas coloniales*, San José, Costa Rica, 1921); "The Covenant of the confederation of Central America" (transl. from *Revista de la Universidad*, Tegucigalpa, Honduras, February 15, 1921), "The Dismemberment of Greater Colombia", by Gabriel Porras Troconis (transl. from *Cultura Venezolana*, Caracas, Venezuela, November, 1920); "Emilio Pardo Bazán", by Manuel Gálvez (transl. from *Nosotros*, Buenos Aires, May, 1921); "The Extinguishment of yellow fever in Guayaquil", (transl. from *Fray Mocha*, Buenos Aires, May 10, 1921); "Miranda as a philosopher and scholar", by Manuel Segundo Sánchez (transl. from *Revista de Filosofía*, Buenos Aires, August, 1921); "The Need of a new conception of law", by Alejandro Álvarez (transl. from *id.*, July, 1921); "Optimism, idealism, and patriotism", by Max Henríquez Ureña; "Simón Bolívar", by Francisco García Calderón (transl. from *Reproducción*, San José, Costa Rica, July 30, 1921). November, 1921: "Exposición de arte tipográfico hispanoamericano", by David Lloyd (transl. from *The Evening Post*, New York, July 30, 1921). December, 1921: "Bartolomé Mitre: his intellectual personality", by Ricardo Rojas (transl. from *La Nación*, Buenos Aires, June 26, 1921); "Haiti and the confederation of the

Antilles", by Anténor Firmin (transl. from *Las Antillas*, Habana, May, 1921); "The History of cotton", by Joaquín Olmedilla (transl. from *Revista de la Enseñanza*, San Salvador, March, 1921); "Juana de Ibarbourn", by Vicente A. Salaverri (transl. from *Revista de Revistas*, Mexico, April 11, 1921); "Pan Americanism and Company", by Alfredo Colmo (transl. from *Nosotros*, June, 1921); The "Present state of primary instruction in Cuba", by Ramiro Guerra (transl. from *Cuba Contemporánea*, Habana, October, 1921). January, 1922; "La Solidaridad Panamericana", by George W. Omphrey (transl. from *The Pacific Review*, Seattle, June, 1921). February, 1922: "American international law: may one state enact of another, *manu militari*, the payment of debts contracted in its behalf or that of its citizens?", by Federico Saenz de Tejada (transl. from *Centro-América*, Guatemala, April-September, 1921); "Argentine painters", by Arturo Lagorio (transl. from *Nosotros*, August 21, 1921); "Bartolomé Mitre: his intellectual personality", by Ricardo Rojas (transl. from *La Nación*, June 26, 1921): "Education in Ecuador", by Julio Endara (transl. from *Revista del Centro de Estudiantes de Medicina*, Quito, March-June, 1920); "Latin-American union", editorial in *Comercio*, Medellín, Colombia, October, 1921; "Liberty", by Amado Nervo (transl. from *Reproducción*, San José, Costa Rica, October 25, 1921); "Tuadentes, hero and saint", by Joaquim da Silveira Santos (transl. from *Revista do Brazil*, São Paulo, June, 1921). April: "A Biography of Sucre", by Simón Bolívar (transl. from *La Prensa*, Lima, December 17, 1921); "The Conference on the limitation of armaments", by Estanislao S. Zeballos (transl. from *La Prensa*, Buenos Aires, December 18, 1921); "The Ecuadorian campaign: 1821-1822", by Carlos A. Vivanco (transl. from *Boletín de la Biblioteca Nacional del Ecuador*, Quito, November-December, 1920); "Peruvian traditions. I. The first steamboat; II. The 'Achirana' of the Inca; III. The two millions", by Ricardo Palma (transl. from his book *Tradiciones Peruanas*, Barcelona, 1894, III. 223, II. 11, and I. 105); "Prehistoric Peru", by Julio Tello (a version of the opusculé entitled *Introducción a la historia antigua del Perú*, Lima, November, 1921): "San Martín", by Bartolomé Mitre (transl. from *La Prensa*, Lima, July 28, 1921, supplement to the ordinary number); "The Spanish language and literature", by Beltrán Mathieu; "The Tonal system of Incan music", by Alberto Villalba Muñoz (transl. from *Musica de América*, Buenos Aires, July, 1921).



J. Fred Rippy writes on "Literary Yankeeophobia in Hispanic America" in the January and April numbers of *The Journal of International Relations*; and the number for January also contains an article by Elbridge Colby namely "The United States and the Coto dispute between Panama and Costa Rica".

*El Libro y El Pueblo* which is a monthly bibliographical review and which describes itself as the "Órgano del Dep. de Bibliotecas de la Secretaría de Educación", published its first number in the City of Mexico on March 1 of this year. It is being published on the first of each month, as an 8 page sheet. In its first number the new review states that it has taken to itself the task of cultivating the love of reading and especially of teaching how to save time by indicating what ought to be read and where it can be read. It also serves as the publicity organ of the Dirección Central de Bibliografía. The first number contains the program of the institution named above; "Ligeras indicaciones sobre lo que es la bibliografía y en qué se diferencia de la bibliofilia, de la bibliomanía, y de la biblioteconomía"; a review by Maximo Gorky of *En el Fuego*, by Enrique Barbusse (taken from the International Communist Review); "Como se hizo la Iliada en la universidad" (the first book published in 1921 by the newly created editorial department of the University of Mexico); "Utilidad de los manuales"; "Relación que manifiesta el total de volúmenes repartidos por la Universidad Nacional y la Secretaría de Educación Pública, respectivamente, durante el año de 1921"; and "Relación . . . de bibliotecas fundadas por la Universidad Nacional y la Secretaría de Educación Pública, respectivamente, durante el año de 1921, en los estados de la República". The director of the review is Lic. Vicente Lombardo Toledano; and among the editors and managers are Professor David Pablo Boder, Ing. Mario Enríquez, Manuel Parraga Ángulo, Mariano Ramírez, and Guillermo Toussaint. The review will procure any volume desired by its readers, and will exchange books.

Recent numbers of the *Mercurio Peruano*, published in Lima, Peru, contain contributions as follows: August, 1921; "Bartolomé Mitre ante las democracias americanas", by Carlos Neuhaus Ugarteche; "Breves apuntes sobre la sociología campestre del Perú", by Philip Ainsworth Means; "Cristóbal Colón", by Manuel I. Vegas; "La Estética de la libertad", by Alejandro O. Deustua; "La Liga de las Naciones en la historia", by Ricardo Rivera Schreiber. September-December: This

number is devoted to Javier Prado y Ugarteche, that eminent scholar being discussed from various angles by H. Borja G. y Urrutia, Edelberto C. Boza, R. Bustamante Cisneros, P. Morales de la Torre, Juan B. de Lavalle, Pedro Yrigoyen, and Fabio Lozano T. February, 1922: "Antecedentes de la guerra de 1879", by Antonio García Salazar; "Cristóbal Colón", by Manuel I. Vegas; "La Estética en la libertad", by Alejandro O. Deustua; "José Santos Chocano y Walt Whitman", by George W. Umphrey: "El Perú de la primera centuria republicana", by Pedro Dávalos y Lissón; "Tres notas de nuestra alma indígena", by José Santos Chocano.

The section of *México Moderno* devoted to Reviews of Reviews is conducted by the Honduran scholar, Rafael Heliodoro Valle, who is now in Mexico, but who spent several years in Washington in connection with the Honduran boundary question. While in Washington, Mr. Valle contributed notes of a similar character to this REVIEW. The number of *México Moderno* for November 1, 1921, is devoted almost entirely to Ramón López Velarde. The following authors have appreciations of López Velarde: Enrique González Martínez, Enrique Fernández Ledesma, José Vasconcelos, Antonio Castro Leal, Pedro de Alba, Génaro Fernández Macgregor, Rafael López, José D. Frías, Alejandro Quijano, and Luis Augusto Kegel. Other items are: "Oración fúnebre pronunciada en representación de la Universidad Nacional", by Alfonso Cravioto; "Retablo a la memoria de Ramón López Velarde", by José Juan Tablada; and poems by Ricardo Arenales, Rafael Heliodoro Valle, Alfonso Camín, José Gorostiza Alcalá, and Juan E. Coto.

The *Mid-Pacific Magazine*, Honolulu, for September, 1921, contains an article entitled "Art and education in Pacific Latin America".

The *Pan American Review* for December, 1921, publishes articles as follows: "South America and population"; and "The great Brazilian international exposition".

Language and historical students will find the newspaper *La Prensa*, which is published daily in New York, of use as an aid to their studies. This advertises itself as the only Spanish and Hispanic American daily published in the United States. It contains considerable news from Hispanic America. *La Prensa* will also be an aid to teachers.

The *Proceedings* of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 1919-1920, which are published as an extra number of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, for November, 1921, contains an interesting article by William E. Connelley, entitled "Dr. Josiah Gregg, historian of the Old Santa Fe Trail".

*Razón y Fe* for October, 1921, contains: "Boletín de historia americana", by C. Bayle, S.J.; and "Crónica de la Argentina". December, 1921; Crónica de Méjico. January, 1922: Crónica de Chile, Méjico y Filipinas". February, March, and April: Crónica de Méjico. This paper also contains book reviews of books relating to Hispanic America.

*Revista Bimestre Cubana*, in its numbers for July-August, September-October, November-December, 1921, and January-February, 1922, contains instalments of a continued paper by its editor Fernando Ortiz, entitled "Un Catauro de Cubanismos.—(Mamotreto de 'cubicheries' lexicográficas)," and "Cristóbal Colón y el descubrimiento del nuevo mundo", by Ricardo V. Rousset; and "Datos históricos cubanos". The second number mentioned contains "El Parasitismo social en nuestra América", by Julio C. Salas; the next number, "En pro de la reciprocidad arancelaria con los Estados Unidos", by Miguel Arango; and "Las Responsabilidades coloniales de España y el Ibero americanismo", by J. Conangla Fontanilles. Of bibliographical importance is the "Catálogo de la Biblioteca de la Sociedad Económica de Amigos del Pais de Habana".

*The Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía* for the third quarter of 1921, has lately made its appearance from the Imprenta Universitaria of Santiago de Chile. Like its predecessors which have been mentioned in this REVIEW, it is a dignified volume quite worthy of the Sociedad Chilena de Historia y Geografía, whose publication it is. This volume of 500 pages contains the following material: "Discurso pronunciado en representación de la Sociedad Chilena de Historia y Geografía en el Ateneo de Santiago", by Carlos Vicuña Mackenna; "Los Indígenas del Ecuador", by Joaquín Santa Cruz; "La Minería en Chile y Perú" by Santiago Marín Vicuña; "Correspondencia de don Antonio Varas con don Francisco Fuenzalida, sobre elecciones y revolución de 1851 en la provincia de Aconcagua"; "Homenaje a Bolívar", by Carlos Silva Vildósola, Ricardo Montaner Bello, and José Austria, "Historia del reino de Chile situado en la América Meridional (continuation)," by

Fray Antonio Sors; "20 de agosto de 1820", by Javier Martín M.; "El Ministerio Varas y la candidatura de don Manuel Montt", by Alberto Edwards; "Un Ejemplo de cómo se iba o se venía de España en el siglo XVI y contratiempos e imprevistos que solían ocurrir", by Tomás Thayer Ojeda; "Reseña histórico-biográfica de los eclesiásticos en el descubrimiento y conquista de Chile (continuation)", by *id.*; "Los Vestigios de industria humana encontrados en Miramar (República Argentina) y atribuidos a la época terciaria", by Eric Román; "El Conflicto eclesiástico de Tacna", by José Luis Fermandois; "El II tomo de la Historia Militar de la Guerra del Pacífico, por el coronel don Guillermo Ekdahl", by M. J. Poblete A.; "Bibliografía Chilena (continuation)", by Luis Montt; "El Servicio sanitario en el ejército de Chile durante la Guerra del Pacífico, 1879-1884", by Rafael Poblete M.; and "Don Manuel Vicente Ballivián".

The *Revista de Derecho, Historia y Letras* contains the following material in its January issue: "Año nuevo. Síntesis de historia argentina", by Estanislao S. Zeballos; "Belgrano", by Tomás P. Silvestre; "Cazuelas y miriñaques", by R. Monner Sans; "Centenario de la entrevista de Guayaquil (monumento conmemorativo)", reproduced from *La Prensa*, Buenos Aires, December 5, 1921; "La Cuestión ferroviaria", by Francisco Seguí; "Desgaste de energía psíquica", by Diego T. R. Davison; "Educación moral.—¿Que se ha logrado en un siglo?", by Sebastián L. Marcó; "La Elección de Buenos Aires", by Estanislao S. Zeballos; "En el Día del árbol (discurso pronunciado en Jujuy)", by Emilio Villafañe; "La Entrevista de Guayaquil", by Carlos A. Aldao; "Nuestra vida pública y el carácter individual", by Miguel V. Molina; "Personalidades sociales.—Los Escalada", reproduced from *La Prensa*, Buenos Aires, September 16, 1916; "La Transformación del romance en la Argentina", by María Velasco y Arías. In addition to the above, the editor, Dr. Estanislao S. Zeballos, conducts sections monthly devoted to "Analecta" (in which are given "Bibliografía hispano-argentina americana"; and "Libros recibidos"), and other Bibliography.

In October, 1921, appeared in São Paulo, Brazil, the first number of a new monthly review entitled *Revista Nacional*, which is published by the Comp. Melhoramentos de S. Paulo (Weiszflog Irmãos, incorporado). This number contains the following items: "As Aranhas", by Mello Leitão; "Bibliothecosophia", by Alfredo G. Dos Santos Diniz; "Educação physica", by Francisco Roca Dordal; "A Igreja Catholica e a

educação nacional", by Mario Pinta Serva; "O Ensino da logica nos gymnasios officiaes Paulistas (to be continued)", by Abilio Alvaro Miller; "Transformação do scenario de 7 de setembro", by Affonso d'E. Taunay.

In *Revue Hispanique*, for February, 1921, will be found a study by W. E. Retana, entitled: "Diccionario de Filipinismos, con la revisión de lo que al respecto lleva publicado la Real Academia Española". It should also be noted that the number for December, 1920, contains an article entitled "Rubén Darío, y el siglo XV", by Pedro Henríquez Ureña.

The *Southwestern Historical Quarterly Review*, in its issues for October, 1921, and January and April, 1922, contains instalments of the highly interesting "Bryan-Hayes correspondence", which is edited by E. W. Winkler. The first two issues above mentioned contain instalments of "Journal of Louis Birdsall Harris, 1836-1842". The October issue contains also "Conditions in Texas affecting the colonization problem, 1795-1801", by Mattie Austin Hatcher; "Early irrigation in Texas", by Edwin P. Arneson. The January issue also contains "Founding of Nuestra señora del Refugio", by William E. Dunn; and the "The last Treaty of the Republic of Texas", by W. P. Webb. The April issue contains also "Edward Hopkins Cushing", by E. B. Cushing; and "The Indian policy of the Republic of Texas, I.", by Anna Muckleroy.



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